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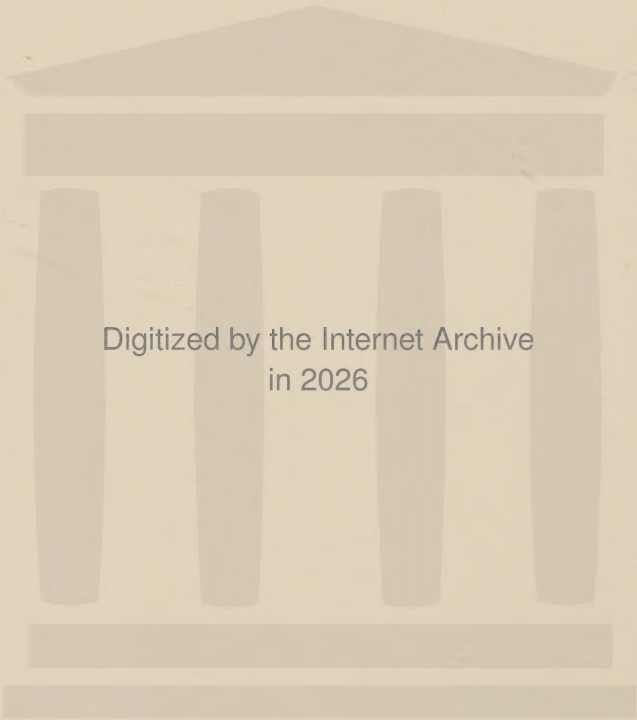

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WILLIAM LAMBARDE ESQ^R.

Published by C. and W. Townson, Chatham 1825.

A

PERAMBULATION

OF

KENT:

CONTEINING THE

DESCRIPTION, HYSTORIE, AND CUSTOMES

OF

That Shire.

WRITTEN IN THE YEERE 1570,

By William Lambarde, of Lincolnes Inne, Gent:

First published in the Year 1576,

And now increased and altered from the Author's owne last Copie.

Chatham:

PRINTED BY W. BURRILL, HIGH-STREET;

PUBLISHED BY BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY, PATERNOSTER-ROW,

LONDON;

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PREFACE.

In offering the present edition of "Lambard's Perambulation of Kent" to the public, we have been influenced equally by the intrinsic excellence of the matter it contains, and the scarcity of the genuine editions of the work: and to render it deserving of attention, every former edition that could be procured has been consulted, and after having been carefully examined and compared, such matter only has been reprinted as appeared to be perfectly genuine, and to be warranted by the editions published during the life time of the Author.

Some difficulty presented itself respecting the Diction and Orthography of the original text, which, in many parts, appeared quaint and uncouth, as compared with the smooth polish of our modern language; but, upon due consideration, we determined to confine ourselves with scrupulous fidelity to a literal reprint of the Work, as the best means of illustrating, not

only the Author's peculiarity of style, but also the state of the English language at the time in which he lived and wrote.

A brief biographical sketch of the Author has been added to this edition, from the belief that any particulars of the life of a man, who was as eminent for his piety and loyalty as for his learning and industry, would not only gratify a laudable curiosity, but would be an useful example for the present and future generations.

BRIEF SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE OF LAMBARDE.

WILLIAM LAMBARDE, an eminent lawyer and antiquary, the eldest son of John Lambarde, Alderman of London, by Juliana his wife, daughter of William Horne or Herne, of London, was born Oct. 18, 1536. Nothing is recorded concerning the early part of his education, until he entered upon the study of the law, and was admitted into the society of Lincoln's-inn, Aug. 15, 1556. Here he studied under Laurence Nowell (brother to the celebrated dean of St. Paul's), a man famous for his knowledge of antiquities and of the Saxon tongue. Lambarde profited much by his instructions, considering an acquaintance with the customs and jurisprudence of the Saxon times as very useful in his profession. The first fruits of his studies appeared in a collection and translation of the Saxon Laws, under the title of "Αρχαιονομια, sive de priscis Anglorum legibus, libri," 1568, 4to, repub-

lished afterwards, with Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," in 1644, by Abraham Wheelock, who commends highly the elegance of Lambarde's interpretation.

In 1570 he appears to have resided at Westcombe, near Greenwich, of the manor of which he was possessed, and devoted a great share of his labours to the service of the county of Kent, but without giving up his profession of the law, or his connection with Lincoln's-inn, of which society he was admitted a bencher in 1578. He had finished his "Perambulation of Kent" in 1570, which after being inspected by archbishop Parker, and the lord treasurer Burleigh, was published in 1576. From a letter of his to his friend Thomas Wotton, esq. it appears that his design and researches extended much farther, and that he had already collected materials for a general account of Great Britain, of which this was but the specimen, and that he was prevented from proceeding in his plan by discovering that Camden was engaged in one similar. His materials, however, were published from the original MS. in 1730, 4to, under the title of "Dictionarium Angliæ Topographicum et Historicum:" to which was prefixed a very fine likeness of him, engraved by Vertue, from which the portrait is copied which is attached to this edition of the Perambulation. Camden, in praising his "Perambulation," and acknowledging his obligations to it, calls the author "eminent for learning and piety;" by the latter quality alluding probably to his founding an hospital for the poor at East-Greenwich, in Kent, said to have been the first founded by a protestant. The queen (Elizabeth) granted her letters patent for the foundation of this hospital in 1574;

and it was finished, and the poor admitted into it in October, 1576. It was to be called "The college of the poor of Queen Elizabeth." An account of its endowment and present state may be seen in Lysson's "Environs."

In 1579 Lambarde was appointed a justice of peace for the county of Kent, an office which he not only performed with great diligence and integrity, but endeavoured to explain and illustrate for the benefit of other magistrates, in his "Eirenarcha, or the Office of the Justices of Peace, in four books," 1581, reprinted eleven times, the last in 1619. Sir William Blackstone, in his Commentaries, recommends this work to the perusal of students. He published also, "The Duties of Constables," &c. 1582, 8vo, and reprinted six times. His character and writings had now recommended him to the notice of some of the greatest and most powerful people of the realm. In 1589 he had a deputation from the lord treasurer for the composition for alienations for fines, an office erected in the 18th year of queen Elizabeth. In 1592 he was appointed a master in chancery by sir John Puckering, lord keeper; and in 1597 was appointed keeper of the rolls and house of the rolls, in Chancery-lane, by sir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper. At length, in 1600, he was personally noticed by the queen, who received him very graciously, and appointed him keeper of the records in the Tower. In consequence of this appointment, he had another interview with her majesty, Aug. 4, 1601, and presented her with an account of those records, which he called his "Pandecta Rotulorum." In the mean time he had written, though not published,

another work, entitled "Archeion, or a Discourse upon the high courts of justice in England." It was not published until 1635, some years after his death, by his grandson, Thomas Lambarde. Of this work there are two editions of the same date, but Mr. Bridgman gives the preference to that with a preface signed T. L. which he thinks the most correct. Mr. Lambarde died Aug. 19, 1601, at his house of Westcombe, and was buried in the parish church of Greenwich. A monument was placed over him, which, upon the rebuilding of that church, was removed to the parish church of Sevenoak, in Kent, where is now the seat and burying-place of the family. He was thrice married, but left issue only by his second wife. He left many MSS. of which Mr. Nichols has given an account; and appears to have been an accurate antiquary, and in all respects a man of learning and distinction.*

* Life by Mr. Nichols, Bibl. Topog. Britan. No. XLII.—Bridgman's Legal Bibliography.

To the Right Woorshipfull, and vertuous, M. THOMAS WOTTON, Esquier.

IT is the manner (right Woorshipfull) of such as seeke profit by Minerall, *first to set men on woorke to digge and gather the* Owre: *Then by fire to trie out the* Metall *and to cast it into certeine rude lumps, which they call* Sowze: *And lastly to commit them to Artificers, that can thereof make things serviceable and meete for use. Somewhat after which sort, I my selfe, being very desirous to attaine to some knowledge and understanding of the* Antiquities *of this Realme, which (as* Metall *conteined within the bowels of the earth) lie hidden in olde bookes hoorded up in corners, did not onely my selfe digge, and rake together whatsoever I coulde of that kinde, but procured divers of my friends also to set to their hands and doe the like. And when the matter was by our diligent travaile growne (as me thought) to a convenient* Masse, *with such fire of discretion as I had, I severed the metall and drosse in sunder, and cast it into certeine rude, and unformed* Sowze, *not unmeete for a worke man. But, whereas no small commendation groweth to the metall, by the skilfull hand of the craftesman that bringeth it to fashion, and therefore the wiser sort of men use to deliver it to such as be their craftes maisters, and can thereof make sundrie utensiles both for pleasure and utilitie: I contrariwise, having neither good arte nor instrument to begin withall, nor*

yet approved patterne or Moald *to imitate and follow, adventured neverthelesse to fashion somewhat out of my* Sowze, *and have (as I now see) shaped such a peece, as is more meete to be condemned to the kitchen, than woorthy to be admitted, or have place in the parlour.*

To speake plainly, I had some while since gathered out of divers auncient and late Histories *of this our* Ilande, *sundrie notes of such qualitie, as might serve for the description and Storie of the most famous places thorowe out this whole Realme: which collection (bicause it was digested into* Titles *by order of* Alphabet, *and concerned the description of places) I called a* Topographicall Dictionarie: *and out of which, I meant in time (if God graunted life, abilitie, and leasure) to drawe (as from a certeine* Store *house) fit matter for each particular* Shire *and Countie. Now, after that it had pleased God to provide for me in* Kent, *I resolved (for sundrie iust respectes) to begin first with that* Shire, *and therein (before I would move any further) to make estimation and triall, both of the thing it selfe, of mine owne abilitie, and of other mens likings.*

This when I had in a rude plot and rough sort perfourmed, and minded to communicate the same with some such of this Countrie, as for skill abundantly could, and for good will indifferently would, weigh and peruse it, You (Right Woorshipfull) came first to my minde, who, for the good understanding and interest that you have in this Shire, *can (as well as any other) discerne of this dooing, And to whom (beyond other) I thought my selfe for sundry great courtesies most deepely bound and indebted.*

I knowe right well, that the thing it selfe (being but a Bearewhelpe *that lacketh licking: a rawe coloured portracture that wanteth poilishing: and a gifte,*

In quo censendum nil nisi dantis amor)

is neither aunswerable to your woorthinesse, nor to mine owne wishe: Howbeit, having heertofore taken undoubted assay of your gentle acceptation, I am nothing afraide to offer it, Submitting to your favourable Censure, both the worke, my selfe, and my writer, And committing to the defence of the almightie, your selfe, your wife, your sonnes and familie. From Seintcleres, *this last of Ianuarie,* 1570.

Yours in the Lorde,

W. Lambarde.

To his Countriemen, the Gentlemen of the Countie of Kent.

THIS Booke faire written (in gift) lately sent unto me, do I faire printed (by dedication) now send and commend unto you. I knowe not (in respect of the place) unto whom I may more fitly thus send it than unto you, that are either bred and well brought up here, or by the goodnesse of God and your owne good provision, are well setled here: and here lawfully possesse, or are neere unto sundrie of those things, that this booke specially speaketh of: and thus, as of your selfes, doe you see what they are now, and thus, as of this booke, may you know why they were, and by whom they were, and what they were long agone.

I knowe not (in respect of the persons) unto whom I may more fitly thus send it, than unto you: with whom, I have been best and longest acquainted: from whom (by points of

singular courtesie) I have beene many waies much pleasured: Toward whom, for the generall coniunction and association of your minds, and your selfes in good amitie, and familiaritie, one toward another: and all, in good zeale toward the advancement of Christian religion: and for the indifferent and discrete course ye keepe in handling and compounding such controversies, as many times fall (and thereby in nourishing peace, a Iewel most precious) between your honest and tractable neighbours, (things unto almightie God, very acceptable: unto her Maiestie, very gratefull: unto your countrie, very fruitfull: unto your selfes, very commendable:) Towarde whom, I say, for these causes which, as a member of this Countie with others I see ioyfully and generally: and for the two first causes which derived from you, light upon me selfe particularly, I have been, and am, and must be very lovingly affected.

I know not how I may more fitly and effectually commend it than to say, that it is in substance, an historie: treating of the parts (and actions of greatest weight a good time together, done by the most famous persons) of one special Countrie: fet from great antiquity, which many men are much delighted with: out of sundry bookes with great studie collected painfully: by this author in the matter set out, truly: with good words well placed, eloquently. In commendation of this booke, upon a fit occasion, the like in a manner, is in Latine lately written by a Gentleman of our Countrie, knowne to be very honest, and, I thinke, very well learned: and so under the authoritie of his good iudgement, may I (without blame) the more boldly commend it unto you.

Alexander Nevil, Norwicus.

What utilitie followeth the studie of Histories, many of them have well declared that have published Histories written by themselves, or have set out Histories written by others. And therefore already sufficiently done, I neede not (unlearned mee selfe, I can not) therein say much. And yet thus much I may breefly say, and fit for the thing I have in

hande (me thinketh) I must needes say, that (the sacred word of Almightie God alwaies excepted) there is nothing either for our instruction more profitable, or to our minds more delectable, or within the compasse of common understanding more easie or facile, then the studie of histories: nor that studie for none estate more meet, then for the estate of Gentlemen: nor for the Gentlemen of England, no Historie so meete, as the Historie of England. For, the dexteritie that men have either in providing for themselves, or in comforting their friends (two very good things) or in serving their King and Countrie (of all outward things, the best thing) doth rest cheefly upon their owne and other folkes experience: which I may assuredly accompt (for in an hystorie, in our toong as well written as any thing ever was, or I thinke ever shall be, great experience *derived from a proofe of two such things, as prosperitie and adversitie be, upon a fit occasion under the person of a very wise man, is rightly accounted) to be the very mother and maistres of wisedome. Now that that a number of folks doth generally, is much more then that, that any one of us can do specially, and so by other folks experience, are we taught largely: and that, that other folkes for their King, their countrie, themselfes, their friends, like good men do vertuously, ought to provoke us with good devotion inwardly to love them: and with good words openly much to commend them, and in their vertuous actions, rightly to folowe them. And that, that other folkes against their King, their countrie, their friends (and so against themselfes) like foolish men do ignorantly, or like leude men do wickedly, ought to move us first (as our neighbours) Christianly to bewaile them: and then (as by presidents of perill procured through their owne follies and faults) dutifully and wisely to beware by them. And so by these mens experience (which like the burnt childe, that then too late the fire dreadth, with much repentance they buy deerly) are we taught and brought out of danger to settle our selves, as it were, in a seat of suretie. Thus you see what*

Sir Thomas Moore Knight, in the historie of King Richard the thirde.

experience doth, and thus you see where other folkes experience is to be had: which, for the good estate of England (resting chiefly upon the good iudgement and service of the Gentlemen of England) is as I thinke, most properly fet from the Historie of England. And this for this purpose, I say both unto you my countrie men the Gentlemen of this Countie (a portion of the Realme) specially, and to all the Gentlemen of the whole Realme beside generally.

There resteth that for this booke (which I do upon these respects thus send, and with these reasons thus commend unto you) we should unto the Author William Lambard, *yeeld our very harty and perpetuall thanks: as our Country man in our wordes and deedes lovingly use him: as a man learned, duly esteeme him: (for a late very well learned and reverend father hath publikely and rightly so reputed him) as a Gentleman religious and very honest, make right accompt of him: which, for my part, I thinke meete to do, and meane to do: and for your parts, I desire hartily you should do, and I hope assuredly you will do. And if by you he might (and would) be mooved at his good leisure, to doe as much for all the rest of the Counties of this Realme generally, as he hath done for this County specially (toward which I know, by great paine and good cost, he hath already under the title of a* Topographicall Dictionarie *gathered together great store of very good matter) himselfe (the Author of it) were woorthy of good reward, and singular commendation for it: You (the motioners) in the reading, shall receive great pleasure by it: the rest of the Gentlemen of this Realme, that of themselfes see what things in their owne countries are of greatest fame now, and by that book shall know, what those things and other things were long agone, must needs with great delight receive it: and surely, being as he is unto me, a very deer friend, for mine owne part, I meane also (God willing) upon some fit occasion, with my request to further it.* The xvi. of Aprill. 1576. *Your Countrey man and very loving friende.*

T. W.

Mathew Parker Archbishop of Canterburie in his Preface to the Booke *De rebus gestis Aelfredi Regis.*

The Saxon Characters, and their values.

Characters.	*Values.*
a	*a*
b	*b*
c	*c*
ð	*d*
e	*e*
f	*f*
g	*g*
h	*h*
i	*i*
k	*k*
l	*l*
m	*m*
n	*n*
o	*o*
p	*p*
q	*q*
r	*r*
s	*s*
t	*t*
u	*u*
p	*w*
x	*x*
ẏ	*y*
z	*z*

The abbreviations.	*Their values.*
⁊	*and*
þ	*that*
ð	*th*
þ	*th*
Ð	*th*

THE POINTES.

Comma, which is marked after the common periode, thus (.)

Periode, which is here signed as the Greeke interrogative, thus (;)

The exposition of this MAP *of the* English Heptarchie, *or seaven Kingdoms.*

TO the end, that it may be understood, what is meant by the tearmes of Eastsaxons, Westsaxons, Mercia, Northumberlande, and suche other, of which there is common mention in the Treatise following: I have thought good to prefixe a Charde of the seaven sundry Kingdoms into the which this Realme was sometime divided. But yet, for the better and more plaine explication of the matter, it shall be good first to knowe, that all these Nations following have had to doe within this our Countrie: The Brittons, the Romanes, the Scottes and Pictes, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normanes.

The Brytaines.

The Bryttons (after the Samothees, and Albionees, which be of no great fame in our historie) were the most ancient Inhabitantes of this lande, and possessed it in peace, untill Iulius Cæsar (the Romane Emperour) invaded them: for so much may a man gather of Horace his wordes, where he saieth,

Intactus aut Brytannus,
Sacra ut descenderet catenatus via, &c.

These therefore were by Iulius Cæsar subdued to the Romane Empire, and their countrie made a tributarie Province: in whiche case it continued many yeeres togither, untill at the length, being grievously vexed with the Pictes and Scottes their neighbours on the North, and being utterly voide of all hope of aide, to be had from the Romanes their patrons (who also at the same time were sore afflicted with the invasion of the Hunnes, and Vandales, like barbarous nations) they were enforced to seeke for further helpe: And

therefore sent into Germanie, from whence they receaved hired Souldiours, of the Nations called Saxons, Iutes, and Angles, under the conducte of Hengist and Horsa, two naturall brethren, and bothe verie valiaunt Captaines.

The Scots and Pictes

These Scottes (as themselves doe write) were a people of Scythia, that came first into Spaine, then into Ireland, and from thence to the North part of Britaine our Iland, where they yet inhabite: They were called Scottes, or Scyttes, of Σκύτται, which is to shoote: The Pictes also came from the same place after them, and occupied the partes where Westmorland and Galoway now be. And they were called Pictes, either for that they used to painte their bodies, to the end to seeme the more terrible, or else of the woord πυκτης, which signifieth a Champion, by reason of their great courage and hardinesse.

The Saxons, Iutes, and Angles.

The Saxons, Iutes, and Angles, were the Germaines that came over, (as we have said) in aide of the Britons, of which the first sort inhabited Saxonie: the second were of Gotland, and therefore called Gutes, or Gottes: The third were of Angria, or Anglia, a countrie adioining to Saxonie, of which the Duke of Saxonie is Lord till this day, and beareth the name therof in his Stile, or title of honour: and of these last we all be called Angli, Englishe men.

These Germaines, for a season served against the Scottes, and Pictes: But afterward (entised by the pleasure of this countrie, and the fraude of the enemies) they ioyned handes with them, and all at once set upon the Britons that brought them in: and so, driving them into France, Wales, and Cornwall, possessed their dwelling places, and divided the countrie amongst themselves.

Howbeit, they also wanted not their plague: For after that they had long warred one upon another, for the enlarging of their particular kingdomes, and had at the last so beaten each other, that the whole was by the Westsaxons reduced into one entier Monarchie, suddenly the Danes (a people of Norway, and Denmark) came upon them, and after much mischiefe done, in the ende tooke the crowne and kingdome quite and cleane from them.

But they also were expulsed after thirtie yeeres trouble, and the English and Saxon Nation restored to the royall dignitie: which yet they enioyed not many yeeres after. For straight upon the death of Edward the Confessor, William of Normandie (whose people at the first came from Norway also, and were therefore called Normans) demaunded the Crowne, and wan it of Harold in the Field, which his posteritie holdeth till this present day.

The Normans.

Thus much of the Nations, that have had interest in this Realme: Nowe to our former purpose, that is, to the division of the same into the sundrie kingdomes under the Saxons. And although (by reason of the continual contention that was amongst them for enlarging their boundes) there can no certaine limits of their kingdomes be described, yet we will goe as neare the truth as we can, and followe the best approved Authours that have written thereof.

The seaven Kingdomes.

Westsex. 1.

The first Kingdome therefore, was called the Kingdome of the Westsaxons, bicause it was in the West part of the realme, and it comprehended the whole Shires of Southampton, Berk, Wilton, Dorset, and Somerset, besides some parts of Surrey, Gloucester, and Devonshire: As for the residue of Devonshyre, and whole Cornwall, the Britons reteined it, whose language is not there as yet forgotten.

The second, was the Southsaxon Kingdome, (so termed bicause it lay South) and conteined whole Sussex, and the remaine of Surrey. Southsex. 2.

The third, was the Kentish Kingdome, and had for the most part the same boundes, that the Shire of Kent yet holdeth, although at sometime, and by the prowes of some King, it was extended much further. Kent. 3.

The Kingdome of Estsex, (or of the Estsaxons) was the fourth, which was named of the situation also, and included the whole Shyres of Estsex, and Midlesex, with some portion of Hartfordshire. Essex. 4.

The fift, was of the East Angles (or East Englishmen) consisting of the Ile of Elye, and the Shyres of Norfolke, Suffolke, and Cambridge. East-Angles. 5.

The Kingdome of Mercia (or Mearclande) had the sixt place, which was so called of the Saxon woord Meapc signifying a bound, limit, or marke, as we yet speake: and that, bicause it lay in the midst of this our Ilande, as upon the which all the residue of the Kingdomes did bounde, and were bordered. In this Kingdome were wholy these Shyres, Lincolne, Northampton, Rutlande, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxforde, Chester, Derby, Notingham, Stafford: And partly Hereford, Hartforde, Warwicke, Shropshire, and Gloucestershyre. Mercland. 6.

Northumberland (so called, bicause it lay North from the River Humber) was the seaventh Kingdome: and it environned Yorkeshire, Durham, Northumberlande, Cumberlande, and Westmerlande wholy, and so much of Lancashire besides, as was not in Mercia. Northumberland. 7.

This Kingdome was for a season divided into twaine, that is to say, Deira, and Bernicia: but for as much as neither that division endured long, nor the actes of their Kings were greatly famous, I will not

stay upon them: But to the ende it may appeere by what lawes and customes these Kingdomes were guided (for of them also we must make mention in this historie) I will proceede to set fourth the rest of the use of this chard of the English *Heptarchie.*

Three sorts of Laws, in olde time.

As eche Countrie therefore, hath his proper lawes, customes, and manners of life, so no man ought to doubt but that these peoples, being aggregated of so many sundrie Nations, had their severall rules, orders, and institutes. Howbeit, amongst the rest those be most famous, which our auncient writers call the Dane lawe, West-Saxon lawe, and Merchen lawe: The first of which was brought in by the Danes: The second was used amongst the west Saxons: and the last was exercised in the kingdome of Mercia: aud yet not so exercised amongst themselves a lone, but that they spred over some partes of the rest of the land also, being either imbraced for their equitie above the rest, or commaunded by such the Kings as prevailed above others.

1. To the Westsaxons law therefore, all such were subiect, as inhabited the Kingdomes of Kent, Sussex, or Westsex.

2. The Eastsaxons, Estangles, and they of the kingdome of Northumberlande (all which were much mingled with the Danes) lived under the Danes lawe.

3. They of Mercia, had their owne lawe, but not throughout: for after some mens opinions, the East and North parts of it lived after the lawe of the Danes also. All these laws, king William the Conquerour collected togither, and (after a discreete view had) by advise of his counsell allowed some, altered others, and quite abrogated a great many, in place of which he established the lawes of Normandie his owne countrey.

The Laws of our time.

ANGLIÆ
HEPTARCHIA.
Statute Miles
10 20 30 40 50 60 70
PICTA
BERNICIA
NORTHANHUMBRA
RICE
DEIRA
MYRCNA
RICE
EAST
ENGLAS
RICE
EAST
SEAXNA
RICE
SUNDENE
SUTH
SEAXNA
RICE
WEST
SEAXNA
CANTWARA
RICE
WEALLAS
CORNWEALLAS
FRONCLOND
Brunanburh
Haese
Dunholm
Eoforwic
Lincolne
Snotingaham
Icanhoe
Rihala
Elmham
Northwic
Hamtun
Cantwarabuirh
Longitude 3 West from 2 Greenwich 1 0 East 1

THE

DESCRIPTION AND HYSTORIE

OF THE

SHYRE OF KENT.

HAVING thus before hand exhibited in generalitie, the names, scituation, and compasse of the realme, the number of the sondrye nations inhabiting within the same, the severall lawes, languages, rites, and maners of the peoples, the conversion of the countrie to Christianitie, the divisions and lymites of the kingdomes, the beginnings and alterations of bishoprickes, and such other things incident to the whole: order now requireth, that I shew in particular, the boundes of eche Shyre and Countie, the severall Regiments, Bishops Sees, Lasts, Hundrethes, Fraunchises, Liberties, Cities, Markets, Borroughs, Castles, Religious Houses, and Schooles: the Portes, Havens, Rivers, Waters, and Bridges: And finally, the Hilles and Dales, Parkes, and Forests, and whatsoever the singularities, within every of the same. And because not onely the Romanes and Saxons (that were conquerours of this realme) but also the disciples of the Apostle Philip, and the messengers of Pope Gregory

These thinges be all handeled, in the induction to the Topographical Dictionarie

(that were converters of the people) arrived first in Kent; and for that the same by commoditie of the River of Thamise (the chief key of this iland) first openeth itselfe, and to the end also that such guests and strangers as shall vouchsafe to visite this our Britaine, may at their first entry fynde such courtesie and intertainment, as from henceforth they ceasse, either with Horace to call us, *hospitibus feros*, or with others, *feroces in advenas*, I wyll be their *xenagogus*, or guide, and first shew them our countrie of Kent, the inhabitantes whereof, Cæsar himselfe in his Commentaries, confesseth to be of all others the most full of humanitie and gentlenesse.

Scituation of Kent.

Kent therefore, lying in the southeast region of this realme, hath on the north the river of Thamise, on the east the Sea, on the south the Sea and Sussex, and on the west Sussex and Surrey. It extendeth in length, from the west of the landes in Beckenham, called (I will not say, purposely hereof) Langley, where is the stile, as it were, over into Surrey, to the Ramsgate in the Isle of Thanet, about fiftie and three myles: and reacheth in breadthe from the River Rother on the south of Newendene next Sussex, to the river of Thamise, at Nowrheade in the Isle of Greane, twentie sixe miles, and somewhat more; and hath in circuit 160 miles, or thereabouts.

Kent, why so named.

It is called by Cæsar, and other auncient writers, *Cancium* and *Cancia* in Latin, which name (as I make conjecture) was framed either out of *Cainc*, a woord that (in the language of the Britaines, whom Cæsar at his arrivall founde inhabiting there) signifyeth, bowghes, or woods, and was imposed, by reason that this countrie, both at that time, and also long

after, was in manner wholy overgrowne with woode, as it shall hereafter in fit place more plainly appeare: or else, of *Cant*, or *Canton*, which denoteth an angle, or corner of land, (so this and sundry others bee) as Master Camden, the most lightsome antiquarie of this age, hath observed.

The whole Shyre hath long been, and is at this day, divided into five partes, communly called Lathes, not altogether equal: which also be broken into Hundrethes, and they againe parted into Townes and Borowes, most aptly for assemblie and administration of justice.

The aire in Kent, by reason that the countrye is on sundry partes bordered wyth water, is somewhat thicke: for which cause (as also for that it is scituate nearest to the sunne risinge and furthest from the Northe Pole of any part of the realme) it is temperate, not so colde by a great deale as Northumberland, and yet in maner as warme as Cornwall. It hath also the better side of the river of Thamise, from whence by the benefit of the south and southwest windes, (most common in this region) the fog and mist is carried from it. The aire.

The soile is for the most parte bountifull, consisting indifferently of arable, pasture, meadow and woodland, howbeit of these, wood occupieth the greatest portion even till this day, except it bee towards the east, which coast is more champaigne than the residue. The soyle.

It hath corne and graine, common with other shyres of the realme; as Wheat, Rye, Barley, and Oats, in good plenty, save onely, that in the wealdish, or woody places, where of late daies they used muche The corne.

pomage, or cider for want of barley, now that lacke is more commonly supplied with oates.

The poulse

Neither wanteth Kent such sorts of pulce, as the rest of the realme yeeldeth, namely beanes, peason, and tares, which some (reteining the sound of the Latine woord *vicia*) call vetches, and which Polydor supposed not to be founde in Ingland.

The pasture.

The pasture and meadowe, is not onely sufficient in proportion to the quantitie of the country itselfe for breeding, but is comparable in fertilitie also to any other that is neare it, in so muche that it gayneth by feeding.

The woods fruits.

In fertile and fruitfull woodes and trees, this country is most floryshing also, whether you respect the mast of oke, beeche and chesten for cattaile: or the fruit of apples, peares, cherries, and plums for men: for besides great store of oke and beeche, it hathe whole woodes that beare chestnutt, a mast (if I may so call it, and not rather a fruite, whereof even delicate persons disdaine not to feede) not commonly seene in other countries: But as for ortchards of aples, and gardeins of cheries, and those of the most delicious and exquisite kindes that can be, no part of the realme (that I know) hath them, either in such quantitie and number, or with such arte and industrie, set and planted. So that the Kentish man, most truely of all other, may say with him in Virgil,

Sunt nobis mitia poma,
Castaneæ molles, &c.

The cattel

Touching domesticall cattel, as horses, mares, oxen, kine, and sheepe, Kent differeth not muche from others: onely this it challengeth as singular, that it bringeth forth the largest of stature in eche kinde of them: The

like whereof also Polydore (in his historie) confesseth of the Kentish poultrie.

Parkes of fallow deere, and games of gray conies, it maintaineth many, the one for pleasure, and the other for profit, as it may well appeare by this, that within memorie almost the one halfe of the first sorte be disparked, and the number of warreyns continueth, if it do not increase daily. Deere and conyes.

As for red deere, and blacke conies, it nourisheth them not, as having no forests, or great walks of waste grounde for the one, and not tarying the time to raise the gaine by the other: for, blacke conyes are kept partly for their skins, which have their season in Winter: and Kent by the nearnesse to London, hath so quicke market of yong rabbets, that it killeth this game chiefly in Summer.

There is no mineral, or other profit digged out of the belly of the earth here, save only that in certeine places they have mynes of iron, quarreys of paving stone, and pits of fat marle. No mynes.

Besides diverse pieres, jetties, and creekes, that bee upon the coastes of the Thamise and the sea, Kent hath also sundrie fresh rivers and pleasaunt streames, especially Derent, Medwey, and Stowre, of the which, Medwey is more navigable then the rest, for which cause, and (for that it crosseth the Shyre almost in the midst) it is the most beneficiall also.

The Sea, and these waters, yeelde good and wholesome fishes competently, but yet neither so muche in quantitie, nor suche in varietie, as some other coastes of the realme do afoorde. And here let us for a season leave the sea and the soyle, and cast our eyes upon the men. The fishe

Thepeople

The people of this countrie, consisteth chiefely (as in other countries also) of the gentrie, and the yeomanrie, of which the first be for the most parte, ἀρχοντες, governors, and the other altogether ἀρχομενοι, governed: whose possessions also were at the first distinguished, by the names of knight fee, and gavelkinde: that former being proper to the warriour, and this latter to the husbandman. But as nothing is more inconstant, than the estate that wee have in lands and living (if at the least I may call that an estate whiche never standeth) even so, long since these tenures have been so indifferently mixed and confounded, in the hands of eche sorte, that there is not now any note of difference to be gathered by them.

Socage & Knightes service.

The Gentlemen.

The gentlemen be not heere (throughout) of so auncient stockes as elsewhere, especially in the partes neerer to London, from whiche citie (as it were from a certeine riche and wealthy seed plot) courtiers, lawyers, and marchants be continually translated, and do become new plants amongst them. Yet be their revenues greater then any where else: which thing groweth not so much by the quantitie of their possession, or by the fertilitie of their soyle, as by the benefit of the scituation of the countrie itself, which hath all that good neighbourhood, that Marc. Cato, and other old authors in husbandry require to a well-placed graunge, that is to say, the sea, the river, a populous citie, and a well traded highway, by the commodities whereof, the superfluous fruites of the grounde be dearly sold, and consequently the land may yeeld a greater rent. These gentlemen be also (for the most part) acquainted with good letters, and especially trained in the knowledge of the lawes: They use to

manure some large portion of their owne territories, as well for the maintenance of their families, as also for their better increase in wealth. So that they be well employed, both in the publique service, and in their own particular, and do use hauking, hunting, and other disports, rather for their recreation, then for an occupation or pastime.

The yeomanrie, or common people (for so they be called of the Saxon word ȝemen, which signifieth common) is no where more free, and jolly, then in this shyre: for besides that they themselves say in a clayme (made by them in the time of king Edwarde the First) that the communaltie of Kent was never vanquished by the Conquerour, but yeelded itself by composition, and besides that Gervasius affirmeth, that the forward in all battels belongeth to them (by a certein pre-eminence) in right of their manhood, it is agreed by all men, that there were never any bondmen (or villaines, as the law calleth them) in Kent. The Yeomen.

Neither be they here so much bounden to the gentrie by copyhold, or custumarie tenures, as the inhabitants of the westerne countries of the realme be, nor at all indangered by the feeble holde of tenant right, (which is but a discent of a tenancie at will) as the common people in the northren parts be: for Copyhold tenure is rare in Kent, and tenant right not heard of at all: But in place of these, the custome of Gavelkind prevailing every where, in manner every man is a freeholder, and hath some part of his own to live upon. And in this their estate, they please themselves, and joy exceedingly, insomuch, as a man may find sundry yeomen (although otherwise for wealth comparable with many of the gentle sort) that will not

yet for all that change their condition, nor desire to be apparailed with the titles of gentrie.

Neither is this any cause of disdain, or of alienation of the good minds of the one sort from the other: for no where else in all this realme, is the common people more willingly governed. To be short, they be most commonly civil, just, and bountiful, so that the estate of the old Franklyn's and yeomen of England, either yet liveth in Kent, or else it is quite dead and departed out of the realme for altogether.

The artificers.

As touching the artificers of this shire, they be either such as travell at the sea, or labour in the artes that be handmaidens to husbandry, or else do worke in stone, iron, and woodfuel, or be makers of coloured woollen clothes; in which last feat they excell, as from whome is drawne both sufficient store to furnishe the weare of the best sort of our owne nation at home, and great plentie also to be transported to other foreine countries abroad. Thus muche I had summarily to say, of the condition of the countrie, and countrie men, now, therefore, (God assisting mine enterprise) I will go in hand with the hystorie.

The first inhabitation of England.

We read in the first Booke of Moses, that after such time as the order of nature was destroyed by the generall floude, and repaired again by the mercy of Almightie God, the whole earth was overspred in processe of time, by the propagation of mankinde that came of the loines of Sem, Cham, and Iapheth. By which authoritie, we are throughly certified, that all the nations of the worlde, must of necessitie derive their pedegrees from the countrie of Chaldee (or some place nighe unto it) where the Arke of Noah rested:

And therefore, I will not here either doubt, or debate to and fro, as Cæsar, Cornel. Tacit. Polydore and others do, whether the first inhabitants of this Ilande were *(aliunde advecti,* and *advenæ)* that is, translated and brought out of some other countrie to dwell here, or no: Or yet affirme, as the same Cæsar doth, that some, or (as Diodor. Siculus writeth) that all the Britaines were *indigenæ,* the naturall borne people of that countrie, and that *ab origine,* even from the first beginning: for to take the one way of these, or the other, would but leade us to distrust the infallible Scriptures of God concerning the creation and propagation of mankynde, and to trust the wretched vanitie of opinion that the Gentiles had, and namely the Atheniens, who, the better to advance their antiquitie, were wont to vaunt, that they only (forsooth) of all the Grecians were ἀυτοχθονες, that is to say, *Sativi, et indigenæ terræ parentis,* the very natural seeds, stocks, and ymps, springing out of their good mother the same earth where they dwelt, and not brought from elswhere. We reade, moreover, in the same Book of Moses, that the Iles of the Gentiles were divided into their kingdoms and nations, by such as descended of the children of Iapheth: whereupon, as the Italians in their histories derive themselves from Gomer the first sonne of Iapheth: the Spaniardes from Tubal his fift sonne: and the Germanes from Thuysco (whom as they say, Moses calleth Ascenas) the eldest sonne of Gomer: Even so, the late learned, and yet best travailed in the histories of our countrey, rejecting the fonde dreames of doting monkes and fabling friars, do collect out of Herodotus, Berosus, and others the most grave and auncient authors, that one Samothes,

The errour of those, which say, that the Brytons were *Indigenæ.*

the sixth sonne of Iapheth, (whome Cæsar in his commentaries calleth Dis, and Moses nameth Mesech) did about 250 yeares after the generall inundation of the world) take upon him the first dominion of these countries in Europe, which are now known by the names of Fraunce and Britaine, and the inhabitantes thereof of long time called *celtæ*, or rather κελεται of the verbe κελετιζειν, for their speciall skill in riding.

That is to say riders and to ride

Of this man's name (say they) the first inhabiters of England weare called Samothæi, by the space of 300 yeares, or more: About which time Albion Mareoticus (the sonne of Neptune, or rather Nepthuim, as Moses writeth it, and descended of the race of Cham,) invaded the ile, conquered the inhabitantes, mixed them with his owne people, and called them all after his owne name Albionees, and the countrey itself Albion.

An. mundi 2219.

Sixe hundreth and eight yeares (or theraboutes) after this also, Brutus Julius (as all our common historiens have it) entered this iland with 324 ships, laden with the remaines of Troye, and he likewise, both subdued all the former peoples that he found heere to his owne obedience, and also altered their name after his owne calling: so that from thenceforth they were named Britaines, the termes of Samothees, and Albionees being quite and cleane abolished. Now, out of these things thus alledged, I might (as me thinketh) draw probable conjecture, that Kent which we have in hand, was the first inhabited part of all this our iland.

An. ante Christum 1142.

Kent, the first inhabited part of England

For if it be true, that Maister Bale in his Centuries confesseth, namely, that Samothes began his dominion over this realme almost 150 yeeres after such time as he first arrived in that part of Fraunce which is

called Celtique and had planted his people there, what can be more likely, then that he came out of Fraunce first into Kent? seeing that parte (of all others) was moste neare unto him, and only of all the iland might be discerned out of the countrie where he was. And the selfe same reason Cæsar useth, to prove, that the borderers on the South Sea side of this land were *advenæ*, and brought out of Fraunce, although he was perswaded, that the dwellers within the middle partes of the countrie were *(indigenæ,)* as we have already touched. To make it easie also, Master Twyne telleth us, that long since there was an istmus (or bridge of lande) by which there was passage on foote to and fro betweene Fraunce and us, although the sea hath sithence fretted the same in sunder. But I will proceede in the historie.

Foure Kings in Kent.

Howsoever that bee therefore, Cæsar himselfe witnesseth, that at the time of his arrivall in this iland, the people were by one common name called Britaines: and that Kent was then divided into foure petite kingdomes, which were governed by Carvillus, Taximagul, Cingetorix, and Segonax: who, having severally subject to their dominions certain cities with the territories adjoyning unto them (after the manner of the dukedomes, or estates of Italie, at this day) extended their bounds (as it may be gathered) over the whole countries of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, at the least.

But one King in Kent.

This kind of regalitie, Kent retained not many yeares after, bicause the Britain kings, succeeding Cæsar's conquest, and yeelding tribute to the Romanes, reduced not only these parts, but in manner the whole realme also, into one entire monarchie.

So that in course of time, and under the reigne of King Vortiger, Kent was ruled by a Lieutenant, or Viceroy, called Guorongus, as William of Malmesbury witnesseth.

But it was not long, before these Britaines were so weakened, partly by intestine dissention amongst themselves, and partly by incursions of their neighbours the Scots, and Picts, that (the periode of this their estate also drawing on) Vortiger their king was compelled to invite for aide the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, three sortes of the Germane nation: who, insteade of dooing that which they came for, and of delivering the Britaines from their former oppression, joyned with their enemies (*Thessala fide*, as the adage is) and brought upon them a more greevous calamity and conquest, subduing the people, suppressing religion, and departing (in manner) the whole land amongst themselves. So that now Kent recovered the title of a several kingdome againe, although not all one, and the verie same in limits with the former foure, yet nothing inferior in power, estimation, or compasse.

Hengist, the Saxon.

Of this newly revived regiment, Hengist, the chief leader of the Germanes, became the first author and patrone. For he, finding himselfe placed by King Vortiger for his owne habitation at Thanet in this shire, and seeing a great part of his power bestowed in garrison against the Scots under Ohtha his brother, and Ebusa his sonne in the North Countrey, and perceiving moreover, that he was arrived out of a most barren region into this plentifull iland (with the commodities whereof he was inestimablie delighted) he abandoned all care of returne to his native soile, and

determined to make here a seate for himselfe and his posteritie. For helpes hereunto, although he had on the one side, his owne prowesse, the manhoode of his warlike nation, their number, and necessitie: and on the other side, the effeminate cowardise and voluptuousnes of King Vortiger, the weakenes of the Britanes themselves, and the advantage of the Scots and Pictes their auncient enemies, so that he might with plaine force have brought his purpose to passe: yet he chose rather to atchieve his desire by faire meanes, and colour of amitie, a way, though not so hastie as the former, yet more speedie then that, or any other. Espying therefore, that King Vortiger was muche delighted in women's companie, and knowing well that *sine cerere et libero, friget Venus,* he had him to a solemn banquet, and after that he had (according to the manner of Germanie yet continuing) well plied him with pots, he let slippe before him a faire gentlewoman, his owne daughter, called Roxena, or Rowen, which being instructed before hand how to behave herself, most amiablie presented him with a goblet of wine, saying in her owne language Þæþ Þaile Þlaþoþð cynyngz ȝ wessail Lord King, that is to say, be merie Lord King: with which her daliance, the King was so delighted, that he not onely vouchsafed to pledge her, but desired also to performe it in the right manner of her owne countrey. And therefore he answered (as he was taught unto her againe, ðþinc Þæile ȝ drinke merily. Which when she had done, himselfe tooke the cuppe, and pledged her so hartely, that from thenceforth he could never be in rest, until he had obtained her to wife, little weighing, either how deeply he had endaungered his conscience in matching himselfe with a Heathen woman, or how greatly he

The first wasseling cuppe.

The issue of an ungodly marriage.

had hazarded his crowne by joyning handes with so mightie a forein nation.

At the time of this marriage, Hengist (labouring by all meanes to bring in his owne countriemen) begged of the king the territories of Kent, Essex, Middlesex, and Suffolke, (then knowne by other names) pretending in worde, that he would, in consideration thereof, keep out Aurel. Ambrose (a competitor of the crowne) whose arrival King Vortiger had much feared, but meaning indeede, to make thereby a key to let into the realme multitudes of Germanes, for furtherance of his ambitious desire and purpose: which thing in processe of time he brought to passe, not onely creating himselfe and his posteritie Kings of a large quarter, but also thereby shewing the way and entrie, howe others of his nation might follow, and doe the like.

And thus Kent, being once againe (as I saide) reduced into a kingdome, continued in that estate, by the space of three hundreth three score and eight yeares, or thereabouts, in the handes of fifteene successours, as the moste credible authours do report: Some others adde, Edbert, Alric, and so make seventeene in all, whose names doe followe:—

The Kings of Kent.

1. Hengist, the first Germane.
2. Oesc.
3. Occa.
4. Hermenric; or Ermenric.
5. Ethelbert, the first christened.
6. Eadbald.
7. Erconbert, the first that commanded the observation of Lent, in this shyre.
8. Egbert.
9. Lothar.
10. Eadric.

After his death, Nidred and Wibbard usurped, by the space of seven years, and therefore are not registred in the catalogue of the lawfull kings.

11. Wightred, or Suihard; he built Saint Martine's at Dover.
12. Edbert, added by some.
13. Ethelbert.
14. Alric, added also, by some.
15. Eadbert Pren; or Edelbert Pren.
16. Cuthred.
17. Baldred.

Now, although it might heere seeme convenient, before I passed any further, to disclose such memorable things, as have chaunced during the reignes of all these forenamed kings: yet for as muche as my purpose specially is to write a topographie, or description of places, and no chronographie, or storie of times, (although I must now and then use both, since the one cannot fully be perfourmed without enterlacing the other,) and for that also I shall have just occasion hereafter in the particulars of this shyre, to disclose many of the same, I will at this present, and that by way of digression only, make report of one or two occurrents that happened under Ethelbert, and Eadric, two kings of this countrey.

Ethelbert, the King of Kent.

This Ethelbert, besides that he mightely enlarged the bounds of his owne kingdome, extending the same even to the river of Humber, was also the first king (amongst the Saxons, inhabiting this land) that promoted the kingdome of Christ, as to whom it pleased Almighty God to breake the bread of his holy word and gospel, through the ministerie and preaching of Augustine the monck, that was sent from

Rome by Pope Gregorie surnamed the Great: amongst the Saxons I saide, least any man should thinke, that eyther the faith of Christe, was not here at all, or not so purely preached, before the comming of that Augustine. For it is past all doubt, by the stories of all countries, and by the testimonie of Beda himselfe (being a Saxon) that the Britons embraced the religion of Christ within this iland, many hundreth yeeres before Gregorie's time: whether in purer sorte then he sent it hither, or no, let them judge that knowe, that he was called (worthely) *Pater Ceremoniarum*, and that may yet see in Beda, and others, what trumperie crept into the church of God in his time and by his permission.

Eadric, the King of Kent.

Eadric, the other king, succeeded in Kent, after Lotharius, who, because he rather reigned by luste, then ruled by lawe, incurred the hatred of his people, and was invaded by Ceadwalla (King of Westsex) and Mull his brother; which entring the countrie, and finding no resistance, herried it from one end to the other; and not thus contented, Ceadwalla, in revenge of his brother Mull's death, (whom the countrie people had cruelly slaine in a house, that he had taken for his succour) entred this countrie the second time, and sleying the people, spoiled it without all pitie. And yet not satisfied with all this, he suffered the quarrell to discend to Ina his successour, who ceased not to unquiet the people of this shyre, till they agreed to pay him 30,000 markes in golde, for his desired amendes.

These be the matters that I had to note in the reigns of these two kings; as for the rest, I passe them over to their fit titles, as things rather perteining to some

peculiar places, then incident to the body of the whole shyre, and will nowe prosecute the residue.

In the time of this Baldred, that standeth last in the table of the kings, Kent was united by King Egbert (who last of all chaunged the name of the people, and called them Englishmen) unto the Westsaxon kingdome, which in the ende became ladie and maistres of all the rest of the kingdomes also: and it was from thenceforth wholy governed after the Westsaxon law, as in the mappe of the tripartite lawes of this realme hath appeered, until such time as King Alfred first divided the whole realme into particular shyres, upon this occasion following. 827

First name of Englishmen.

The Danes, both in his time and before, had flocked by sea to the coastes of this lande in great numbers, sometimes wasting and spoiling with sword and fire, wheresoever they might arrive: and sometimes taking with them great booties to their ships without dooing any further harme: which thing (continuing for many yeeres together) caused the husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gave occasion and hardinesse to evil disposed persons to fall to the like pillage, and robberie: the which, the better to cloke their mischiefe withall, fained themselves to be Danish pirates, and would sometime come on lande in one part, and sometime in another, driving great spoiles (as the Danes had done) to their ships before them.

Beginning of Shyres.

The good King Alfred therefore, that had marveilously traveiled in repulsing the barbarous Danes, espying this outrage, and thinking it no less the part of a politique Prince, to roote out the noisome subject, then to holde out the foreigne enemie, by advice of his counsaile, and by the example of Moses (which fol- 892

lowed the counsaile of Ietro, his father in law) divided the whole realme into certain parts, or sections (being two and thirtie in number, as I gesse), which of the Saxon word Scýpan, signifying to cut, he termed shyres, or (as wee yet speake) shares, and portions: and appointed over every one shyre, an Earle, or Alderman (or both), to whom he committed the government and rule of the same.

Lathes. Hundreds. Tithings.

These shyres he also brake into smaller parts, whereof some were called Lathes, of the worde ȝelaþian, which is, to assemble together: others, hundreds, because they conteined iurisdiction over an hundred pledges: and others, Tithings, so named, bicause there were in eche of them to the number of ten persons, whereof eche one was suretie and pledge for others good abearing.

He ordeined furthermore, that every man should procure himselfe to be received into some tithing, and that if any were founde of so small credite, that his neighbours would not become pledge for him, hee should foorthwith be committed to prison, least he might do harme abroade.

By this device of his it came to passe, that good subjects (the travailing bees of the realme) resorted safely to their labors againe, and the evill and idle droanes were driven clean out of the hyve of the common wealth: so that in short time, the whole realme tasted of the sweete hony of this blessed peace, and tranquilitie: insomuch, that (as one writeth) if a man had let fall his purse in the highway, he might at great leasure, and with good assurance, have come back and taken it up againe.

Some shadow, I do confesse, of this King Alfredes

politique institution, remaineth even till this day in those courts which we call Leetes, where these pledges be yet named *franci plegii*, of the worde ꝑleoboꝛȝꝑ, which is, a free pledge: but if the very image itselfe were amongst us, who seeth not what benefit would ensue thereby, as well towards the suppression of busie theeves, as for the correction of idle vagabounds, which be the very seede of robbers and theeves: but leaving this matter to such as beare the sworde, I will plie my penne, and go forward. The right way to suppress roges and theeves.

Thus much therefore I thought good, now at the first to open, the more at large, because it may serve generally for all shyres, and shall heereafter deliver me from often repetition of one thing. Where, by the way, (least I might seeme to have forgotten the shyre that I have presently in hand) it is to be noted, that that which in the west countrey was at that time (and yet is) called a tithing, is in Kent termed a borow, of the Saxon worde boꝛꝑ, which signifieth a pledge, or a suretie: and the chiefe of these pledges, which the westernmen call a tithingman, they of Kent name a borsholder, of the Saxon wordes boꝛꝑeȝ ealdoꝛ, that is to say, the most auncient, or elder of the pledges: which thing being understood, the matter will come all to one end, and I may now go forward. Bosholder, & Tithingman.

In this plight therefore, both this shyre of Kent, and all the residue of the shyres of this realme, were founde, when William the Duke of Normandie invaded this realme: at whose hands the cominaltie of Kent, obteyned with great honour, the continuation of their auncient usuages, notwithstanding that the whole realme besides suffered alteration and chaunge. 1066 Kentkeepeth hir old customes.

For proofe whereof, I will call to witnesse Thomas

Spot, sometimes a moncke and chronicler of Saint Augustines at Canterbury: who, if hee shall seeme too weake to give sufficient authoritie to the tale, because hee onely (of all the storiers that I have seene) reporteth it, yet, forasmuch as I myselfe first published that note out of his history, and for that the matter itselfe also is neither incredible, nor unlikely (the rather bicause this shyre, even unto this day, enjoyeth the custome of give all kyn discent, dower of the moytie, freedome of birth, and sundrie other usuages much different from other countries) I neither well may, ne will at all, sticke, now eftsoones to rehearse it.

Give all kynne.

1067 After such time (saith he) as Duke William the Conquerour had overthrowne King Harold in the field, at Battel in Sussex, and had received the Londoners to mercy, he marched with his armie towarde the castle of Dover, thinking thereby to have brought in subjection this countrie of Kent also. But Stigande, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Egelsine the Abbat of St. Augustines, perceiving the daunger, assembled the countrie men together, and laide before them the intollerable pride of the Normanes that invaded them, and their own miserable condition, if they should yeeld unto them. By which meanes, they so enraged the common people, that they ran forthwith to weapon, and meeting at Swanscombe, elected the Archbishop and the Abbat for their captaines: this done, eche man got him a green bough in his hand, and bare it over his head, in such sort, as when the Duke approached, he was much amased therewith, thinking at the first, that it had been some miraculous woode, that mooved towards him: but they, as soone as he came within hearing, cast away their boughes from them,

Meeting at Swanscombe.

and at the sounde of a trumpet bewraied their weapons, and withall dispatched towards him a messenger, which spake unto him in this manner: The commons of Kent (most noble Duke) are readie to offer thee, either peace, or warre, at thyne owne choyse, and election: peace, with their faithfull obedience, if thou wilt permit them to enjoy their ancient liberties: warre, and that most deadly, if thou denie it them.

Now when the Duke heard this, and considered that the danger of deniall was great, and that the thing desired was but small, he forthwith, more wisely than willingly, yeelded to their request: and by this meane both he received Dover Castle, and the countrie to obedience, and they onely of all England (as shall heereafter appeer) obtained for ever their accustomed priviledges.

And thus then hath it appeered (so shortly, as I could) what hath been the estate and government of this countrie, from the arrival of Iulius Cæsar (the first Romane that conquered this realme), even to this present day. Now, therefore, I will set before the reader's eye in table, a plaine particular of the whole shyre, wherein, to the end that with little labour of search, double commoditie may be founde, I will first divide the countrie into lathes, baylifwycks, limites, and hundreds, as it is used for execution of services by the shyrifes, their baylifes, and iustices of the peace: secondly, to these lathes and hundreds, I will adde the parishes, townes, and boroughes, setting downe against eche of them such severall summes of money, as (by reporte of the thirteenthe yeare of her Majesty's raigne) was levied in the name of a tenthe, and fifteenthe, upon every of the same: thirdly, I will particularize the

franchyses, parks, rivers, bridges, and other the more publique and notorious parts of the shyre in short kalendar: and lastly, I will addresse me to the topographic and larger description of such places, as either faithfull information by worde, or credible hystorie in writing, hath hitherto ministred unto me.

The Distribution of the Shyre for Execution of Iustice.

Lath.	Bayly-wickes.	Limits for Iustice of Peace.	Hundreds, and the number of Parishes in them.	Names of the Iustices of Peace and their Dwelling Parishes, 17th February, 1596.
1. Sutton at Hone.	1. Sutton at Hone.	1. Upper Division.	Blackheath parishes 7.	S. Ralph Bourchier, in Leigh Bryan Annesley, in Lewsham William Barnes, in Woolwiche
			Broomely and Beknam par. 2.	Io. Lo. Bishop Roffen, Tymothy Lowe, Edm. Style, in Beknam } in Bromley
			Litle and Lesnes. par. 4.	
			Axtane par. 16.	Percivall Hart, in Lullingstone S. George Cary, in Stone
			Rookesley par. 15.	Tho. Walsingham, in Chesylhyrst Samuel Lennard, in Wyckham
		2. Nether Division.	Godsheath par. 8.	Sampson Lenard, in Sevenok
			Westerham par. 4.	Thomas Potter, in Westerham
			Somerdene par. 6.	S. Robert Sydney, George Ryvers, } in Penshyrst

Lath.	Bayly-wickes.	Limits for Iustice of Peace.	Hundreds, and the number of Parishes in them.	Names of the Iustices of Peace and their Dwelling Parishes, 17th February, 1596.
2. Aylesford.	2. Hoo.	1. North Division.	Hoo. par. 5.	William Lo. Cobham, Henry Brooke } in Cobham
			Shamele par. 11.	S. Io. Leveson, Will. Lambert } in Halling
			Toltingtroe par. 6.	
			Chetham and Gyllingham par. 3.	
			Wrotham par. 4.	Geo. Chowne, Io. Rychers } in Wrotham
			Larkefield par. 15.	William Sedley, in Aylesford
	3. Twyford	2. South Division.	Litlefield par. 3.	Roger Twysden, in Pekham
			Twyford par. 6.	Sir Iohn Scott, in Nettlested Tho. Fane, in Hunton
			Lowy of Tunbridge. par. 2.	
			Wacheling-stone. par. 5.	
			West Barnfield, Brenchley, & Horsmonden par. 3.	
			Marden. p. 2.	
	4. Eyhorne	3. East Division.	Eyhorne par. 13.	S. Ed. Wooton, in Bocton Malherbe S. T. Fludde, in Bersted Edward Fylmer, in Sutton William Lewyn, in Otterynden Mathew Hadde, in Frensted Mart. Barnam, in Hollingborne Henry Cutte, in Stocbery
			Maydstone par. 7.	Lau. Washington, in Maydstone Will. Beynham, in Boxley

Lath.	Bayly-wickes.	Limits for Iustice of Peace.	Hundreds, and the number of Parishes in them.	Names of the Iustices of Peace and their Dwelling Parishes, 17th February, 1596.
3. Scraye alias Shyr-winhope.	5. Mylton.		Mylton par. 23.	S. Ed. Hobbye, Io. Askough, William Crowmer, in Tunstall — in the yle of Shepy
	6. Scraye.		Tenham, p. 4.	
			Feversham par. 17.	Mychaell Sondes, in Throughley
			Bocton under bleane par. 4.	
	7. Chart & Long-bridge.		Felboroe. p.5.	
			Chart and Lonbridge par. 9.	Rob. Edolph, in Hynxell
			Wye par. 5.	S. Moyle Fynch, in Eastwell; Tho. Kempe, in Wye
			Byrcholt barony. par. 1.	
			Calehyll par. 8.	Rob. Honywood, Nicholas Gilborne, in Charing. Richard Deering, in Plukley
			Ashford villate	
	8. 7 Hundreds.		Blackborne. p.5	
			Tenterden par. 1.	Port.
			Barkley. p. 1.	
			Cranbrooke par. 3.	Thomas Robertes, in Cranbrooke
			Rolvenden par. 2.	Henry Lynley, in Rolvenden
			Selbrightenden. par. 1.	
			East Barnfield. par. 1.	
			Newyndene villate.	

Lath.	Bayly-wickes.	Limits for Iustice of Peace.	Hundreds, and the number of Parishes in them.	Names of the Iustices of Peace and their Dwelling Parishes, 17th February, 1596.
4. S. Augustine.	9. Bredge.		Ringesloe par. 4.	Rychard Cryspe, in Thanet Ins.
			Blengate par. 7.	
			Whitstable par. 3.	
			Westgate par. 4.	Peter Manwood, in Hakington
			Downeham-ford. par. 6.	Sir Henry Palmer, in Bekesborne port
			Preston par. 2.	
			Bredge and Petham. p. 7.	William Partrich, in Bredge Ric. Hardres, in upper Hardres
			Kyngham-forde. par. 5.	Sir Thomas Wylford, in Kingstone
			Seasalter Boroe.	
			Wyngham par. 5.	Thomas Palmer, in Wingham
	10. Eastry.		Eastrye par. 11.	Richard Fogge, in Tylmanstone Ric. Lo. of Dover, in Denton Ioh. Boys, in Betshanger Thomas Payton, in Knolton Edward Boys, in Nonington
			Corniloe par. 8.	
			Bewesbrough par. 13.	
			Longport Boroe.	

Lath.	Bayly wickes.	Limits for Iustice of Peace.	Hundreds, and the number of Parishes in them.	Names of the Iustices of Peace and their Dwelling Parishes, 17th February, 1596.
5. Shypwey	11. Stowting		Folkestone par. 8.	
			Loningboroe par. 4.	William Harmonde, in Acrise
			Stowtinge par. 5.	Iohn Smith, at Stanforde
			Hearne par. 2.	
	12. Shypwey		Byrcholt franchyse par. 2.	Thomas Scott, in Smeeth
			Streate par. 3.	Ralph Hayman, in Sellyng
			Worth par. 2.	
			Ham par. 3.	
			Langporte par. 1.	
			Saint Martyne par.	
			Newchurch par. 4.	
			Alowsbridge par. 6.	
			Oxney par. 3.	

Note, That Rich. Lee, and Henry Fynch, dwell in Canterbury: Thomas Blague inhabiteth Rochester: the rest (of the Nobilitie and others) named in the Commission, are not resident within the Shyre.

The Lathe of St. Augustines, otherwise called the Lathe of Hedelinth.

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Wingham.	Borowe of Wingham -	3	7	1
	Borowe of Rollinge -	3	7	1
	Borowe of Nonington -	3	7	1
	Borowe of Godestone -	3	7	1
	Borowe of Denne -	3	7	1
	Borowe of Twytham -	1	13	9
	Borowe of Wimlingswold	1	13	9
	Borowe of Kelington -	1	13	7
	Borowe of Gythorne -	1	6	1
	The Parish of Ashe with the Borowe of Widerton -	23	12	3
	Sum	£46	14	10
Hundreth of Preston.	Towne of Preston -	5	9	10
	Towne of Elmeston -	2	10	0
	Sum	£7	19	10
Hundreth of Kingeslowe.	Towne of Wood -	4	7	8
	Towne of Monketon -	3	0	0
	Towne of Mynster -	15	0	0
	Towne of St. Lawrence	17	13	4
	Towne of St. Peter -	15	17	0
	Towne of St. John -	23	12	0
	Towne of St. Giles -	0	15	0
	Towne of St. Nicholas	10	7	0
	Towne of All Sainctes	4	6	4
	Towne of Byrchingstone	8	15	3
	Sum	£103	13	7

The Lath of St. Augustines.

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Downhamford.	Towne of Staple -	4	7	0
	Towne of Adesham -	4	9	0
	Towne of Wykham -	7	14	10
	Towne of Litleborne -	7	14	0
	Towne of Well - -	6	19	6
	Sum	£31	4	4

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Estrye.	Towne of Chillenden -	0	18	0
	Towne of Berston -	0	7	2
	Towne of Nonington -	1	0	0
	Towne of Tylvestone -	6	6	4
	Towne of Wodnesborowe	15	10	10
	Towne of Estrye -	14	11	10
	Towne of Waldershare	0	12	0
	Sum	£39	6	2

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Kinghamford.	Borowe of Dorme -	1	5	0
	Borowe of Kingstone -	3	0	8
	Borowe of Outemeston	1	2	4
	Borowe of Berham -	2	2	4
	Borowe of Bereton -	1	3	4
	Borowe of Shelving -	1	8	6
	Borowe of Brethe -	1	3	4
	Sum	£11	5	6

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Petham.	Towne of Petham -	7	12	7
	Towne of Chartham -	0	8	10½
	Towne of Waltham -	4	2	5
	Sum	£12	3	10½

		£.	s.	d.	
Hundreth of Bewsbrough.	Towne of Colred -	1	19	0	The Lathe of St. Augustines.
	Towne of Shebertswold	2	18	0	
	Towne of Popeshal -	2	10	0	
	Towne of St. Margaret	3	0	0	
	Towne of Oxney -	1	6	7½	
	Towne of Westclif -	1	11	0	
	Towne of Guston -	1	14	0	
	Towne of Beawfield -	1	19	0	
	Towne of Charlton -	2	7	0	
	Towne of Hougham -	4	0	0	
	Towne of Bucland -	1	8	0	
	Towne of Rever -	2	0	0	
	Towne of Ewell -	3	6	0	
	Towne of Leden -	1	4	0¼	
	Towne of Smalhead -	0	13	4	
	Towne of Westlangden	1	0	0	
	Sum	£32	15	11¾	

Hundreth of Cornilo.	Borowe of Finglesham	1	19	0	
	Borowe of Sholdon -	2	0	0	
	Borowe of Marten -	1	10	0	
	Borowe of Eastlangdon	0	12	0	
	Borowe of Asheley -	2	0	0	
	Borowe of Sutton -	1	3	5½	
	Borowe of Mongeham Magna	2	0	0	
	Borowe of Ripley -	0	17	0	
	Borowe of Norborne -	1	3	0	
	Borowe of Deale -	13	19	0	
	Borowe of Walmer -	4	5	8	
	Borowe of Mongeham Parva	0	17	0	
	Towne of Ringwolde	8	0	10	
	Sum	£40	6	11½	

		£.	s.	d.
The Lathe of St. Augustines.				
Hundreth of Blengate	Towne of Sturey -	12	14	0
	Towne of Chistelet -	12	14	0
	Towne of Reculver -	12	14	0
	Towne of Herne -	12	15	0
	Sum	£50	17	0
Hundreth of Westgate	Borowe of Westgate	9	19	2½
	Borowe of Harbaldowne	4	0	0
	Borowe of Hakington	4	6	0
	Borowe of Cokering -	3	14	0
	Borowe of Tunforde -	1	15	0
	Borowe of Rushborne	1	8	10
	Borowe of Harwich -	2	17	1
	Sum	£28	0	1½
Hundreth of Whitstaple.	Towne of Bleane -	7	11	9
	Towne of Whitstaple	6	15	0
	Towne of Natington -	0	11	4¾
	Sum	£14	18	1¾
Hundreth of Bregge.	Towne of Patricksborne	3	16	0
	Towne of Bekesborne	3	18	0
	Towne of Bregge -	0	15	0
	Towne of Blackmanbury	1	8	0
	Towne of Little Harden	1	8	0
	Towne of Natindon -	1	8	0
	Towne of Great Harden	1	9	0
	Sum	£14	2	0
	Towne of Seasalter -	3	6	8
	Sum of this whole Lathe of Saint Augustines	£436	15	0

The Lathe of Shepway.

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Saint Martine.	Towne of Newchurch -	1	0	3
	Towne of St. Maries -	2	9	0
	Towne of Hope -	12	7	10½
	Towne of St. Martine -	0	14	2
	Towne of St. Clement -	2	10	4½
	Towne of Ivechurch -	3	8	1
	Towne of Medley -	0	4	2
	Sum	£22	13	11
Hundreth of Langport	Towne of St. Nicholas	0	16	0
	Towne of Lyd - -	9	2	4
	Towne of Romney -	0	13	4
	Towne of Hope -	1	9	0
	Sum	£12	0	8
Hundreth of Alowes-bredge.	Towne of Snargate -	2	17	11
	Towne of Brenset -	4	0	2
	Towne of Brokeland -	3	17	0
	Towne of Fairefeld -	2	4	9
	Towne of Snave -	1	12	6½
	Towne of Ivechurch -	1	11	4
	Towne of Newchurch -	0	7	1½
	Sum	£16	10	10
Hundreth of Bircholt Franchesse	Towne of Aldington -	4	10	0½
	Towne of Mersham -	0	8	10
	Sum	£4	18	10½

The Lathe of Shepway.

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Newchurch.	Towne of Bilsington -	2	13	8
	Towne of Newchurch -	1	13	2
	Towne of Roking -	2	10	6
	Towne of Snave - -	0	8	4
	Towne of St. Marie -	1	14	4
	Sum	£9	0	0
Hundreth of Stowting	Towne of Elmested -	3	12	9
	Towne of Scelling -	0	19	2
	Towne of Waltham -	1	1	7
	Towne of Stowting -	1	10	11
	Towne of Horton -	2	14	8½
	Towne of Stanford -	1	6	10½
	Sum	£11	6	0
Hundreth of Louingborough.	Towne of Eleham -	16	1	0
	Towne of Acryse -	0	7	8
	Towne of Hardresse -	1	9	4
	Towne of Stelling -	1	10	1½
	Towne of Lyming -	9	15	8
	Towne of Paddlesworth	0	18	3½
	Sum	£30	2	1
Hundreth of Strete.	Towne of Limeane -	3	15	1
	Towne of Aldington -	1	3	7½
	Towne of Selling -	6	11	9
	Towne of Bonington -	0	12	9
	Towne of Herste -	0	17	6½
	Towne of Westinghanger	0	16	11¾
	Sum	£13	17	8¾
Hundreth of Oxeney.	Towne of Wittresham -	2	16	1
	Towne of Stone -	3	18	4
	Towne of Ebbene -	0	12	6
	Sum	£7	6	11

The Lathe of Shepway.

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Heane.	Towne of Saltwood -	6	7	8
	Towne of Lymeane -	0	5	1
	Towne of Postling -	4	10	11
	Sum	£11	3	8
Hundreth of Hame.	Towne of Warehorne -	2	12	5
	Towne of Shaddockherst	0	5	2
	Towne of Rokinge -	1	9	0
	Towne of Snave -	0	10	2
	Towne of Orlaston -	0	9	2
	Sum	£5	5	11
Hundreth of Worth	Towne of Dymchurch	3	1	10
	Towne of Bormersh -	4	8	4
	Towne of Newchurch -	0	6	2½
	Towne of Estbredge -	2	0	1
	Towne of Blackmanstone	0	12	0
	Towne of Westheath -	1	3	2¼
	Towne of Lymen -	1	9	3½
	Towne of Aldingweke and Organswcke -	1	2	5
	Sum	£14	3	4¼
Hundreth of Folkestone.	Towne of Lyden -	1	12	1½
	Towne of Swyngfeld -	5	6	9
	Towne of Akkam -	13	17	0
	Towne of Folkstone -	9	5	5½
	Towne of Hawking -	1	5	6
	Towne of Acryse -	0	19	4
	Towne of Newington -	8	14	4½
	Towne of Cheriton -	4	2	3
	Sum	£45	2	9½
Sum of this whole Lathe of Shepway		£203	12	9

The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwinhope.

			£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Charte.	Ashtisforde	-	3	9	0
	Charte -	-	4	17	4
	Betrisden -	-	3	2	3
	Hothefielde -	-	3	0	8
		Sum	£13	9	3
Hundreth of Long-bridge.	Willesbroughe	-	2	13	6
	Kenington	-	3	10	6
	Sevington -	-	0	18	7
	Kingsnothe -	-	1	11	6
	Marsham -	-	0	12	10
	Hynxell -	-	0	13	6
	Ashetisforde	-	2	12	0
		Sum	£12	12	6
Hundreth of Bircholte	Westbraborne	-	1	11	
	Hastingleyghe	-	1	1	
	Bircholte -	-	1	0	
	Eastbraborne	-	0	19	
		Sum	£4	13	
Hundreth of Boughton under Bleane.	Graveney -	-	5	8	
	Harnehill -	-	4	14	1
	Sellyng -	-	9	0	
	Boughton -	-	9	5	
		Sum	£28	8	

The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwinhope.

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Teneham.	Teneham - -	9	2	2
	Linstede - -	9	9	4
	Eastchurch and Stonepit	1	3	4
	Hedcorne - -	0	19	0
	Dodington - -	6	10	2
	Iwade - -	0	11	0
	Sum	£27	15	0

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Calehil.	Nashe - -	1	0	2
	Felde - -	1	13	8
	Hayslathe - -	1	16	10
	Sandpit - -	1	7	6
	Charte - -	2	0	10
	Welles - -	0	18	0
	Charing - -	2	6	6
	Sandhill - -	1	6	6
	Acton - -	0	17	10
	Eastlenham - -	1	15	8
	Stanforde - -	2	0	4
	Pluckley - -	3	0	0
	Edisley - -	1	15	0
	Halingarse - -	2	5	4
	Sednor - -	2	4	2
	Halmeste - -	2	10	8
	Sainct Iohns - -	0	7	6
	Grenehill - -	0	13	4
	Sum	£29	19	10

		£.	s.	d.
The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwinhope.	Stone - -	1	18	0
	Preston - -	5	8	11
	Stallisfield - -	2	1	0
	Luddenham - -	3	6	8
	Ore - - -	0	10	0
	Hartie - -	1	2	11
	Davington - -	3	2	8
	Ospringe - -	3	2	5
	Feversham - -	9	1	10½
Hundreth of Feversham.	Godneston - -	1	9	8
	Selling - -	1	18	1
	Sheldwiche - -	3	7	5
	Throwly - -	5	17	8
	Badlesmere - -	1	12	2
	Leveland - -	0	6	10
	Neuenham - -	2	1	5
	Norton - -	1	10	0
	Boresfield - -	0	13	4
	Boughton Malherb -	0	11	8
	Eseling - -	3	1	1
	Sum	£52	3	9½
Hundreth of Tenterdene.	Tenterdene - -	12	7	1
	Ebyne - -	1	17	10
	Sum	£14	4	11
Hundreth of Rolvinden.	Rolvinden - -	3	11	10
	Benyndene - -	2	18	8
	Sum	£6	10	6

The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwinhope.

			£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Barkley.	Bedyndene	-	5	0	0
	Benyndene	-	1	19	0
	Haldene	-	0	6	0
	Smardene	-	0	15	2¾
	Hedcorne	-	0	12	0
	Fryttendene	-	0	7	8
	Cranebrooke	-	0	3	0
		Sum	£9	2	10¾
Hundreth of Blackborne.	Appledore	-	2	5	5¼
	Kenardington	-	2	0	10
	Woodchurch	-	5	16	0½
	Warehorne	-	0	16	2
	Shadockesherst	-	0	8	0
	Haldene	-	3	6	10
	Betrisdene	-	0	17	0
		Sum	£15	10	3¾
Hundreth of Branfield	Hawkherst	-	3	18	4
	Cranebroke	-	0	6	8
		Sum	£4	5	0
Hundreth of Cranebrooke.	Biddendene	-	0	3	6
	Cranebrooke	-	5	16	8
	Frittendene	-	1	15	5
	Stapleherst	-	1	8	0
	Hedcorne	-	0	10	10
	Benyndene	-	1	10	10
	Gowdherst	-	1	3	6
		Sum	£12	8	9
Hundreth of Selbritendene.	Newendene	-	0	8	0
	Sandherst	-	1	15	10
	Hawkherst	-	0	5	8½
	Benyndene	-	1	1	2
		Sum	£3	10	8½

			£.	s.	d.
The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwinhope. — Hundreth of Marden.	Gowdherst	-	1	18	3
	Stapleherst	-	0	16	9
	Marden	-	0	19	8
		Sum	£3	14	8
	Newendene	-	£1	4	11

The Balywike of Kay, in the Hundred of Mylton.

Tong -	-	2	3	9
Rodmersham	-	0	19	6½
Kingsdowne	-	0	6	6
Borden	-	0	8	6
Tunstall	-	3	13	4
Bredgar	-	0	9	0
Morston	-	1	6	0
	Sum	£9	6	7½

The Balywike of Shepey, in the Hundred of Mylton.

Mynster	-	11	0	9
Eastchurch	-	11	13	10½
Wardon	-	3	6	4
Lesdon	-	4	17	9
	Sum	£30	18	8½

The Balywike of West, in the Hundred of Mylton. — Hundreth of Mylton.

Raynham	-	9	12	6½
Upchurch	-	6	10	10
Hartlyp	-	3	12	0
Newenten	-	4	4	4
Halstowe	-	0	16	0
Stokebury	-	1	0	5
	Sum	£25	16	1½

The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwinhope.

The Balywike of Kay, in the Hundred of Mylton.

	£.	s.	d.
Sedingborne -	6	7	2
Bapchilde -	4	0	0½
Tong -	2	7	2
Rodmersham -	2	15	5½
Bredgar -	0	9	6
Tunstall -	0	8	6
Morston -	0	7	8
Elmesley -	1	7	10
Milstede -	1	11	8
Kingsdowne -	1	1	0½
Sum	£20	16	0½

Hundreth of Mylton.

The Balywike of Borden, in the Hundred of Mylton.

Mylton -	7	10	7½
Stokebury -	1	0	0
Bredgar -	3	15	4
Bycnore -	0	1	1
Borden -	4	10	11
Sedingborne Parva	0	8	6
Tunstall -	0	15	8
Newington -	2	1	9
Bobbing -	2	13	5
Halstow -	2	2	4
Iwade -	1	8	9
Sum	£26	8	4½

The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwinhope.			£.	s.	d.
	Hundreth of Felberoughe.	Cartham -	5	15	4
		Godmersham -	5	9	0
		Chilham -	10	2	9
		Sum	£21	7	1
	Hundreth of Wye.	Bewbredge -	6	8	4
		Tremworthe -	2	11	0
		Socombe -	4	6	3½
		Gotley -	0	14	9
		Bempston -	0	10	6
		Wilmyngton -	0	10	7
		Deane -	0	10	2½
		Shotenden -	0	19	3
		Hellyinge -	0	5	0½
		Eastwell -	2	15	3½
		Towne -	1	18	9½
		Cockliscombe -	2	6	3
		Brompforde -	2	4	9
		Tokingham nothing, bicause it is in decay.			
		Sum	£26	1	0½
	The Towne of Osprenge -		£5	2	2
	The Hundreth of Marden -		£7	6	10
	Sum of this whole Lathe of Scray		£412	19	10¾

The Lathe of Aylesforde.

		£.	s.	d
Halfe Hundreth of Chetham.	The Towne of Chetham	£8	10	0
Halfe Hundreth of Gillingham and Greane	Gillingham and Greane	£15	0	9½
Hundreth of Eyhorne.	Berstede -	0	17	4
	Ulcombe -	2	19	0
	Otham -	1	0	6
	Wormesell -	1	3	8
	Thorneham -	2	1	4
	Hedcorne -	0	14	0
	Charte -	1	15	1
	Boughton Maleherbe	0	18	0
	Boughton Monchelsey	2	4	4
	Hollingborne -	4	13	4
	East Sutton -	1	9	4
	Frenstede -	0	10	0
	Leneham -	6	7	0
	Harryetsham -	3	4	0
	Otterinden -	0	12	2
	Sutton Valance -	2	5	11¾
	Leedes - -	2	6	8
	Bromefeld -	0	4	6
	Stokebery -	1	16	0
	Langley -	0	15	4
	Wychelynge -	0	4	11
	Aldington -	1	5	8
	Bycknore -	0	10	4
	Sum	£39	19	3¼

			£.	s.	d.
The Lathe of Aylesforde.	Hundreth of Maydestone.	Maydestone -	19	9	2
		Loose - -	1	14	4
		Lynton and Crookherst	2	10	8
		Westre - -	2	4	2
		Stone - -	3	18	2
		East Farleyghe -	2	5	1½
		Detling - -	2	13	4
		Boxley - -	4	3	4
		Sum	£38	18	3½
	Hundreth of Shamel.	Chalke - -	2	19	0
		Hallinge -	0	12	0
		Shorne - -	4	16	4
		Cowlinge -	1	19	8
		Higham -	4	11	4
		Denton -	0	11	6
		Merston -	0	8	1½
		Frendsbury -	4	11	1½
		Cookistone -	2	12	2
		Cobham -	5	6	8
		Strode - -	4	3	7
		Clyffe - -	6	13	10
		Stoke - -	0	17	10½
		Sum	£40	3	2½
		The Towne of Malling	£4	9	8

The Lathe of Aylesforde.

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Twyford.	Huntingdon -	0	15	0
	Yalding -	3	17	3
	East Peckham -	3	8	1
	Nettlested -	0	7	6
	Watrinbury -	0	7	0½
	West Farley -	0	7	4
	Testan - -	0	4	6
	Marden -	0	8	0
	Brenchesley -	0	4	0
	Tudeley -	0	17	0
	Sum	£10	15	8½
Hundreth of Littlefeld.	Mereworth -	0	18	4
	East Peckham -	2	3	7
	West Peckham -	1	7	4
	Of the Baronie of Hadlow	1	4	8
	Sum	£5	13	11
The Half Hundred of Westbarnfield		£2	0	1½
Hundreth of Brenchesley.	Brenchesley -	3	13	4
	Horsmondene -	5	11	3
	Hotbisbrough -	2	8	11
	Bayham -	1	4	6½
	Lamberherst -	0	18	4
	Beanecroche -	0	9	2
	Taperegge -	0	9	2
	Sum	£14	14	8½
Hundreth of Wachelingstone.	Borden -	2	14	2
	Speldherst -	1	10	2
	Stoningley in Pepingley	1	16	9
	Sheyborne Ruschall	2	2	9¼
	Tudeley -	1	13	10½
	Asherst -	0	2	0
	Sum	£9	19	8¾

			£.	s.	d.
The Lathe of Aylesforde.	The Lowy of Tunbrigge.	Southe - -	3	14	2
		Hilden - -	4	5	0
		Hadlowe -	4	10	10
		Tunbrigge -	2	3	10½
		Sum	£14	13	10½
	Hundreth of Wrotham.	Wrotham -	10	3	1½
		Stansted -	2	13	4
		Iteham -	3	5	3½
		Shibborne -	1	4	10
		Sum	£17	6	7
	Hundreth of Larkefeld.	Byrling -	3	0	6½
		Pedelsworth -	1	3	2¾
		Layborne -	0	16	11
		S. Leonard -	0	16	2¾
		Ryash - -	1	6	7¾
		Addington -	0	19	1¾
		Offam - -	0	13	9
		Trottyscliffe -	0	17	7¼
		Snotheland -	2	14	9½
		Woldham, with the Parish of S. Margaret	1	8	10½
		Allington -	0	10	2
		Dytton - -	0	5	7
		East Malling -	7	2	0½
		Borham -	2	3	0½
		Aylesforde -	5	15	5¾
		Rugmerhill -	1	0	4
		Horsmondene -	1	4	7¾
		Huntington -	0	7	2¾
		Sum	£32	6	3

		£.	s.	d.	
Hundreth of Hoo.	The Towne of S. Warburge *alias* Hoo -	9	2	8	The Lathe of Aylesforde.
	The Towne of S. Marie	4	14	4	
	The Towne of All Saints	5	6	3	
	The Towne of Stoke	1	3	6½	
	Halsto - -	2	17	10½	
	West Peckham -	0	18	6½	
	Cobham -	1	9	7½	
	Sum	£25	12	10	
Hundreth of Tolting-trow.	Mepeham -	6	0	0	
	Luddesdon -	2	0	0	
	Ifield - -	2	2	8	
	Gore - -	3	4	7	
	Gravesend -	2	10	6	
	Torne - -	2	4	6	
	Mylton - -	2	10	6	
	Sum	£20	12	9	
Sum of this whole Lathe of Aylesforde		£300	17	8½	

The Lathe of Sutton at Hone.

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Rokesley.	The Towne of Rokesley	0	19	10
	Bexley - -	6	1	0
	North Craye -	1	0	0
	Orpington -	4	13	10
	Fotyscraye -	0	17	5
	Chellesfeld -	3	6	8
	Farneburghe -	2	5	4
	Codeham -	3	2	2
	West Wickham -	1	17	4
	S. Marie Craye -	2	10	1
	Downe - -	2	12	4
	Hese - -	1	3	8
	Keston - -	0	12	4
	Hever and Lingell	0	18	3
	Nokeholte -	0	15	0
	Pollescraye -	2	8	8
	Chesilhurst -	2	5	4
	Sum	£37	9	3

		£.	s.	d.	
Hundreth of Axston.	Towne of Southfleete	4	11	6½	The Lathe of Sutton at Hone
	Sutton - -	5	11	6½	
	Fawkeham -	1	9	2½	
	Longefeld -	1	3	6	
	Harteley -	1	10	7	
	Ashe - -	3	19	2½	
	Rydley -	0	17	0	
	Kingesdowne -	2	1	3	
	Maplescombe -	0	16	8	
	Farmingeham -	0	5	5½	
	Stone - -	3	13	9½	
	Swanescombe -	3	1	0½	
	Darrent -	1	18	2½	
	Horton -	4	9	6½	
	Eynesforde -	1	17	11	
	Lullingstone -	2	4	2½	
	Sum	£39	10	8	

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Coddeshethe.	The Towne of Shorham	3	18	0
	Halsted -	0	14	4
	Otteforde -	1	2	2
	Woodland -	0	7	8
	Sundrishe -	0	10	8
	Sevenocke -	4	15	0
	Kemsynge -	1	9	10
	Seale - -	2	19	0
	Cheveninge -	1	19	8
	Leighe - -	0	13	0
	Speldherst -	0	5	0
	Sum	£18	14	4

The Lathe of Sutton at Hone

		£.	s.	d.
Hundreth of Somerdene.	Towne of Chyddingstone	0	16	4
	Spelherste -	0	1	10
	Covedene -	0	9	4
	Leighe - -	0	6	0
	Penseherste -	0	5	6
	Hever, with the Borowe of Tunbridge -	0	6	0
	Sum	£2	5	0
Hundreth of Westram	Towne of Etonbridge	1	4	0
	Westram -	2	1	2
	Covedene -	0	12	0
	Brasted Upland -	0	13	4
	Sum	£4	10	6
Hundreth of Bromley and Beckenham.	Towne of Bromley	8	0	0
	Beckenham -	5	19	6
	Sum	£13	19	6
	Towne of Brasted	£1	7	5½
Hundreth of Blackheath.	Towne of Lewesham	10	2	2
	Lee - -	2	11	10
	Ketbrooke -	1	8	7
	Eltham -	7	16	0
	Chesylherst and Motingham	2	3	8
	West Grenewiche -	2	15	10
	Charleton -	2	7	7
	Wolwyche -	2	1	10
	East Grenewiche -	7	3	2
	Sum	£38	10	8

		£.	s.	d.	
Hundreth of Lytle and Lesnes.	Towne of Erythe -	14	4	3	The Lathe of Sutton at Hone
	Craford - -	6	16	0	
	Plumsted -	7	19	0	
	Sum	£28	19	3	
The Towne of Dartford		£14	3	7	
Sum of this whole Lathe of Sutton at Hone - -		£199	15	3	

For the more easie understanding of this table of the Fifteene, it is to bee noted, that the Lathes and Hundrethes do stand together whole and entier, howsoever the townes and parishes bee divided and broken into parts. And therefore, when one towne is twice, thrice, or more often named, bee well assured that it hath so many boroughes (or partes) thereof standing in so many severall Hundreds: but if it bee but once set downe, then standeth it wholie in that onely Hundreth where you finde it.

It is to be observed furthermore, that this paiment which we commonly at this day do call the Fifteene, is truely (and was aunciently) named, the Tenth and Fifteene. The Tenth, for so much thereof as was paied out of cities and borowes in the name of the tenth part of their goods and mooveables.

And the Fifteenth, for the residue thereof, which was originally and properly due out of the uplandish and countrie townes or villages, as a Fifteenth part of their goods or mooveables. Of the whole sum of which Fifteene and Tenth, there was £6000. abated by a generall commission in the reigne of King Henry the Sixte, in respect of the povertie of sundrie decaied cities and townes in every part of the realme. Statut. 18. E. 3. Brooke in Quinz.

To this Tenth, did the Hundreth of Rochester pay (as it appeereth in the olde bookes) and to it the Towne of Osprenge, part of the Hundreth of Marden, and all the Hundreth of Mylton (except the Baylywike of Kay first named) do contribute at this present day. And this is the very cause, why the Hundreth of Marden, that Bailywike of Kay, and the towne of Osprenge, be twise named in the Lathe of Scraye, and seeme to be twice charged also: whereas (indeede) the first naming of them is for their charge to the Fifteene, and the second for the charge of some partes of them to the payment of the Tenth.

And heerof also it may be properly gessed, that such partes of the towne of Osprenge, and of the Hundred of Marden, as bee yet liable to the Tenth, bee of the Libertie of Mylton, the which was aunciently the King's own towne: and that so much of the Baylywike of Kay as beareth now towards the Fifteene, was not at the first any portion of Mylton, though it be now reputed within that Hundred.

These things I have the rather noted, bicause our latter bookes do confound togither the payment of the Tenth and Fifteene, whereas the auncient recorde doth in plaine wordes distinguish and sever them.

Fraunchises.

Of the Duchie.
Of the Archbishop.
Of the Bishop of Rochester.
Of the Deane of Canterburie.
Of Otforde.
Of Wye.
Of Asheford.
Of Wrotham.
Of Eltham
Of Osprenge.

Knights fees in old time, 254, and Di. whereof 27 belonged to the Archbishop, 8 to the Bishop of Rochester, and the rest to the King.

Forrestes and Parks.

South frythe, forrest.
North frythe, three parkes.
Otforde, two: whereof one disparked.
Knoll.
Gromebridge.
Panthyrst, dis.
Penshyrst.
Brasted, dis.
Henden, dis.
Hever, dis.
Broram, dis.
Wrotham, dis.
Ightam, dis.
Cage, dis.
Postern, dis.
Sutton, dis.
Langley, dis.
Cooling.
Byrling.
Cobham.
Alington, dis.
Mereworth, dis.
Grenewich.
Eltham. 3.
Ashowre.
Southparke.
Lullingstone.
Calehyll.
Leedes.
S. Augustines.
Bedgebury.
Westenhanger. 2.
Halden, dis.
Hamswell.
Hungershall.
Lye, dis.
Folkston, dis.
Shoreland, dis.
Aldington, dis.
Stonehyrst, dis.
Stowting.
Saltwood, dis.
Postling.
At Ashford.
Sissingherst.
Glassenbury.
Oxenhoth, 2. dis.

Hilles of Name.

Shooters hill
Red hill
Gads hill
Cockshoote hill
Shorne hill.
Northdownes.

Boxley hill.	Raynam downe.
Harbaldoune.	Mill hill.
Boughton hill.	Calehill.
Byrling hill.	Baram downe.
Ryver hill.	South downes.

Ryvers.

Thamis.	Lymen.
Ravensborne.	Bewl.
Cray.	Genlade.
Darent.	Wantsume.
Medwey.	Stowre.
Rother.	

Bridges at

Depeforde	upon Ravensborne.	Shorham	upon Darent.
Lewsham		Ainsforde	
Crayford 2.	upon Cray.	Farningham	
Eaton bridge	upon Medwey.	Dartforde	
Tunbridge 5,			
Brantbridge		Chaforde.	
Twyford		Lamberhirst.	
Yalding		Bewl.	
Teston		Hetcorne.	
Farley		Newendene.	
Maidstone			
Ailesford		Ashforde	upon Stowre.
Rochester		Canterburie	

Cities.

Canterburie.	Rochester.

Markets, upon

- Tuesday, at
  - Wrotham, not used.
  - Leneham.
- Wednesday, at
  - Dovor.
  - Sandwiche.
  - Canterburie.
  - Gravesend.
  - S. Mary Cray.
  - Westwell, in old time.
- Thursday, at Maydstone.

Markets, upon

- Friday, at
  - Sandwiche.
  - Canterburie.
  - Rochester.
  - Tunbridge.
- Saturday, at
  - Rumney.
  - Hythe.
  - Dover.
  - Sandwiche.
  - Feversham.
  - Mylton.
  - Asheford.
  - Cranebrooke.
  - Lenham.
  - Mallyng.
  - Sennock.
  - Dartford.

Fayres, at

Apuldore, S. Peters in Sommer, long since.

Ashford, 27. July, being S. Ruffines day.

Bidenden, on Simon and Judes day.

Bromley, 1. February, being S. Bridgets day: and the 25. of July, being S. James day.

Brastede, on Thursday in Rogation weeke.

Charte the great, 25. March, being the Anunciation of the blessed virgine Marie.

Charing, 23, April, being S. Georges day, 13. October, being S. Edwards day, 18 October, being S. Lukes day.

Canterburie, the Tuesday in Whitson weeke, 27. July, being the Seaven Sleepers day. 29. September, being S. Michaels day: and 29. December, being S. Thomas Beckets day.

Cranbroke, 29. Maie, being S. Corones day: and 24. June, being Midsomer day.

Chilham, 25. July, being S. James day.

Charlton, 18. October, being S. Lukes day.

Clyffe, 17. September, being S. Lamberts day.

Dover, 25. July, being S. James day, 24. August, being S. Bartilmews day, and 11. November, being S. Martines day.

Feversham, 14. February, being S. Valentines day: and 1. August, being Lammas day.

Folkstone, 27. June, being S. Crescents day.

Gravesend, 25. January, being S. Paules day: and 13. October, being S. Edwards day.

Hertesham, 24. June, being Midsomer day.

Hedcorne, 28. June, being S. Leos day.

Hide, 17. November, being S. Hughes day.

Lenham, 27. May, being S. Beedes day: and 21. September, being S. Mathews day.

Lydde, 11. July, being S. Benets day.

Maidstone, 1. May, being Philip and Jacobs day: 9. June, being S. Edmunds day: 6. Octo-

ber, being S. Faithes day: and 2. February, being the Purification or Candlemas day.

Mereworth, 10. August, being S. Laurence day.

Malling, 21. September, being S. Mathews, day: 1. August, being Lammas day: 6. November, being S. Lennards day.

S. Margarets, neare Dartford, 20. Julie, being S. Margarets day.

Northfleete, the Tuesday in Easter weeke.

Otford, 24. August, being S. Bartilmews day.

Pluckley, 5. December, being S. Nycholas eeven.

Rochester, 19. May, being S. Dunstanes day: and 30. November, being S. Andrews day.

Roking, on Mary Magdalens day.

Romney, 1. August, being Lammas day.

Reculver, 7. September, being the Nativitie of the blessed virgine Marie.

Sittingborne, 21. September, being S. Mathews day.

Strowde, 10. August, being S. Laurences day.

Sandwiche, 23. November, being S. Clements day.

Sandhyrst, 7. December, being the eeven of the Conception.

Smeethe, on eche of the Ladie daies in harvest.

Sennock, 6. December, being S. Nicholas day, and 29. June, being S. Peters day.

Tunbridge, Ash-Wednesday: 24. June, being Midsomer day: and 18. October, being S. Lukes day.

Tenterdene, 26. April, being S. Cletes day.

Wye, 13. March, being S. Theodores day.

Wrotham, 23. April, being S. Georges day.

Boroughes.

Canterburie.
Rochester.
Maydstone, and the porte townes.

Castles, at

Canterburie.
Rochester.
Dover, and the Castell at the Key.
Leedes.
Tunbridge.
Mylton.
Gravesend, 2.
Quynborow.
Cooling.
Sandowne.
Dele..
Walmer.
Saltwood.
Alington.
Shorham.
Ainsford.
Tong.
Layborne.
Upnore.
Sandegate.
Studfall, or Lym.
Sandwiche.
Sutton.
Billerica, or Court At-steeat.
Chilham.
Richeborowe.
Godworde, in Thornham.

Honourable Houses, belonging to the Prince, at

Grenewiche.
Eltham.
Dartford.
Otford.
Knoll.
S. Augustines.
Dover Castell.
Dele Castell.

To the Archbishop,

Canterburie.
Wingham.
Forde.

To the Bishop of Rochester.

Bromley.
Rochester.
Halling.

To men of honour.

Berling.
Cobham.

Cooling.
Penshyrst.
Shorland.

Houses for poore people, with provision of living, at

Grenewiche.
Orpington.
Lullingstone.
Shorham.
Sennock.
Rochester.
Chetam.
Sutton valence.
Canterburie.
Hackington.
Sandwich.
Dover.
S. Bartilmews, at Hythe.

Houses of poore people, without provision.

Dartford.
Whitdiche.
Chesill hill, by Rayes streate.

Religious Houses, that sometime were, and their yerely values.

	by Yeere. £. *s.* *d.*		*by Yeere.* £. *s.* *d.*	
Wingham College	84 0 0	Leedes Priory	362 0 0	
Minster		Combwell	80 0 0	
Wye College	93 0 0	Feversham	290 0 0	
Asheforde College		Davington, *alias*, Aninton Priory there		
Horton Priory	95 0 0			
Bilsington Priory	81 0 0			
Newendene		Maidstone Col.	159 0 0	
Folkstone	41 0 0	Shepey	129 0 0	
Dover Priory	170 0 0	Motenden	60 0 0	
Meason dieu	120 0 0	Christs Church	1421 17 3	In Canterbury.
Hospitall there	59 0 0	S. Augustines		
Bradsoll Abbay, of S. Radigundes	98 0 0	S. Sepulchers	29 0 0	
		S. Gregories		
Westlangdon, of regular Canons	56 0 0	S. Tho. Hospital	23 0 0	
		S. James Hospital	32 0 0	
Boxley	204 0 0	S. Nich. Hospital	109 0 0	

	by Yeere. £. s. d.		*by Yeere* £. s. d.
S. Maries without Cant.		Tunbridge Priorie	
		Ailesford	
Rochester Priory	486 0 0	Dartford	380 0 0
Cobham College	28 0 0	Grenewiche Friers	
Strood	52 0 0	Meason dieu, at Osprenge	
Malling Abbay	218 0 0		
Higham Priorie		Lesnes Abbay	

Schooles, at

Canterburie.	Tunbridge.
Rochester.	Maidstone.
Sandwiche.	Sennock.
Cranbrooke.	Wye.
Sutton valence.	Dartford.
Bydendene.	

The names of suche of the Nobilitie, and Gentrie, as the Heralds recorded in their visitation, 1574. *To the whiche I have added suche as I called to mynde, and have set a starre before ech of them, that they may be knowne from the rest.*

A.

* Syr Christopher Allen.	Christopher Abdy.
* Asheley.	Richard Austyn.
* Richard Argall.	* Robart Alcock.
William Acher.	James Austyn.

B.

Syr Richard Baker.	* Boughton.
Nicholas Barham, Serieant at the lawe.	* John Barnes.
	* Humfry Bridges.
* Edward Boyes.	* Bonham

Ralfe Bossevile.
Robert Byng.
Danyell Bettenham.
Thomas Brent.
John Boys.
Frauncis Bourne.
Henry Brochull.
John Barham.
* James Barham.
William Browne.
John Barowe.
Nicholas Beere.
Thomas Blechenden.
William Bedingfeld.
Michaell Berisford.
* Jerome Bret.
* Bam.
* Nicholas Ballard.

C.

* Sir William Cobham.
Lord Cobham, and wardein of the five-Portes.
Syr Henry Crispe.
Syr Thomas Cotton.
* Syr Rowland Clarke.
* Syr Alexander Colpeper.
Syr Henry Cobham.
George Catlyn.
* Barthram Calthrop.
* Chowne
William Cromer.
George Clifford.
Humfrey Clarke.
William Clarke.
Robert Colwell.
William Cheyney.
William Claybrook.
William Crispe.
William Cayser.
* Justinian Champneys.
* Giles Crowe.
* Thomas Colpeper.
* Cranwell.
* Crumpton.
* Carrell.
* John Cobham.
Cuttes.

D.

* Syr William Damsell.
* Thomas Darrell.
* Robert Deane.
* Dalyson.
Richard Deering.
Delahay.
James Dalton.
* George Darrell.
John Delapynd.
Caius Dixon.
William Drayner.
* Digges.
* Thomas Duke.

E.

Daniell Evering.
Vincent Engham.
Ralfe Edolf.
Fraunces Eglesfield.

F.

Syr Thomas Fane.
Thomas Fane.
George Fogge.
* Henry Fane.
Thomas Fyneur.
Symond Fifeld.
Thomas Farby.
Alexander Fisher.
Thomas Fluyd.
Robert Fylmer.
John Franklyn.
Moyle Fynche.
* Thomas Fisher.
* Ralfe Fynche.
* John French.

G.

* The Lady Golding.
Syr Thomas Guldeford.
Edmund Gay.
George Goldwell.
Thomas Greeke.
William Gybs.
Henry Gylman.
Thomas Godden.
* Richard Garthe.
* Barnabe Gooche.
* Norton Greene.

H.

Syr George Howard.
* Syr Percevall Hart.
* Syr Humfrey Gylbert.
Syr James Hales.
William Hamon.
Richard Hardes.
Roger Herleckenden.
* Christopher Harflete.
* Honywood.
* John Heyton.
Thomas Honywood.
Henry Haddes.
John Harper.
Martyn Herleckenden.
* Edward Hales.
* Richard Heron.
Ralf Hayman.
Abacuk Harman.
Thomas Hamon.
William Holmden.
* George Harte.

I.

John Iden.
William Isley.
Paul Jhonson.
* Martyn James.

K.

Syr Thomas Kempe.
* Richard Knatchbull.

L.

* William Lovelace, serieant at the lawe.
* Thomas Lovelace.
John Lennard.
Richard Lone.
Anthonie Light.
Thomas Lewson.
William Lewknor.
Lee.
* William Lambarde.

M.

* Roger Manwood, Iustice of the common place.
George Multon.
Edward Monings.
John Moyle.
William Midleton.
Walter Meyny.
Anthony Meyny.
William Mount.
* Edward Martyn.
Moore.

N.

Syr Henry Nevill, Lorde Aburgevenny.
* Alexander Nevill.
Valentine Norton.
* Thomas Nevill.
* Thomas Nevill.

O.

Henry Oxenden.
John Orwell.

P.

* Thomas Potter.
* Payne.
William Partridge.
Ciriac Petit.
Henry Petit.
William Petit.
William Pordage.
Richard Parker.
* James Peckam.
* John Pet.
* Palmer.

R.

* Syr John Ryvers.
* Thomas Randall.
Walter Roberts.
* John Roberts.
William Roper.
Robert Rudstone.
Richard Rogers.
Robert Rychers.
William Raynes.

S.

* Syr Henry Sidney, K^t^. of the Garter, Lord Deputie of Ireland, and Lord President of Wales.
Syr Warham Seintleger.
Syr Thomas Scot.
Anthony Sandes.
John and Edw. Sibyll.
Vincent S. Nicholas.
John Sidley.
Christopher Samson.
William Swanne.
William Swanne.
Thomas Stoughton.
* Charles Scot.
* Frauncis Sandbache.
* Reynold Scot.
* Somers.
* Frauncis Shakerley.
* William Sydney.

T.

John Tuffone.
Thomas Tourney.
Roger Twisden.
Morice Tichebourne.
John Twyne.
Thomas Tuttesham.

William Tylghman.
* James Tebolde.
John Tebolde.
* Robert Thomas.
* Frauncis Thynn.
* Richard Tomeyo.

W.

Syr Thomas Walsingham.
Thomas Wootton.
* Thomas Watton.
* Thomas Whetenhall.
* Ralfe Weldon.
* George Wyat.
* Thomas Wale.
Thomas Willoughby.
Frauncis Wilford.
John Wybarne.
Richard Waller.
S. Walt. Waller.
John Wylkyns.
Thomas Waren.
William Weston.
Davy Wylkyns
Robert Walker.
* Edward Wyat.
* Robert Wiseman.

The Beacons in Kent.

AS in warre celeritie availeth no lesse than force itselfe, so the Right Honorable Sir William Brooke, Lord Cobham, and Lord Chamberlaine of hir Majesties houshold (who hath been sole Lieutenant of this shyre since the first of hir Majesties raigne), foreseeing how necessarie it was to have the forces of the countrie speedily draw together, for the encounter of any hostilitie: and finding, that upon the fiering of the Beacons (which are erected for that service) not only the common sort, but even men of place and honour, were ignorant which way to direct their course, and therby (through amasednesse) as likely to run from the place affected, as to make to the succour of it; caused the true places of the beacons to be plotted in carde, with directorie lines, so many sundrie waies,

as any of them did respect the other: by which any man, with little labour, may be assured where the danger is, and thereof informe his neighbours. For example: suppose our first beacon, standing on Shooters-hill, to be light: he that will go thither may know by the watchmen from whence they received their light; which must be either from the west neare London, or Hamstede: or else from the east, by warrant of the fiered beacon at Stone neare Dartford; or of that which is neare to Gravesende. The like of the rest; and so much for use.

Touching the antiquitie, and name: it seemeth they came from the Saxons: for of their worde Becnian, which is to call by signe (or to becken, as we yet speake,) they are named beacons: and I find, that before the time of King Edward the Third, they were made of great stacks of wood (of which sort I myselfe have seene som in Wiltshire), but about the eleventh yeere of his raigne, it was ordained, that in our shyre they should be high standards with their pitchpots.

And now, if any man shall thinke, that this laying open of the Beacons, is a point not meete to bee made publike: I pray him to give me leave to dissent in that opinion from him. For, as the profit to the Realme and subiect is manifest, in that it speedeth the service, where speed is most profitable: so there is no secret hereby disclosed, whereof the enimie may take advantage, seeing that Beacons stand open to the eie, and all men know the end for which they be advanced, though few know the best use and advantage of them. Yea rather, the enimie is prevented, when he seeth that we can and do make so good and readie use of our Beacons. If it be replied, that peradventure the common

people shall not be permitted to run to the shore, *Tumultuaria manu*, as the old maner was: but shall stay till they be called upon, and that the trained companies only shall resort to the places of their appointed rendevous: the answere is, that whatsoever course be directed, yet the speedie knowledge of the danger, is all alike profitable, which without this cannot be discerned. And otherwise it must follow, that there will be no use of the Beacons at all: which if it be, the countrie might be well delivered of that continuall and great charge, which it sustaineth by the watching of them. But as (no doubt) the necessitie of them is apparent: so were it good, that for the more speedie spreading of the knowledge of the enimies comming, they were assisted with some horsemen (anciently called of their hobies or nags, Hobeliers) that besides the fire (which in a bright shining day is not so well descried) might also run from Beacon to Beacon, and supply that notice of the danger at hande.

The Names of the Kentish Writers, drawn (for the most part) out of the Centuries of Maister Iohn Bale.

Androgeus, Comes.
Ethelbertus, Rex.
Lotharius, Rex.
Eadricus, Rex.
Wightredus, Rex.
Heddius Stephanus.
Tobias Cantianus.
Neotus Aldulphius.
Serlo.
Fridegodus.
Haimo.
Folchardus.
Osbernus.
Eadmerus.
Ærnulphus.
Elmerus.
Odo Cantianus.
Alexander Cantuariensis.

Eadmundus Gryme.
Radulphus Roffensis.
Richardus Pluto.
Richardus Doverensis.
Sampson Durouernius.
Radalfus Maidston
Gervasius Dorobernensis.
Solitarius Presbyter.
Nigellus Wireker.
Alexander Theologus.
Simon Stokius.
Ioannes Cantianus.
Haimo de Feversham.
Thomas Spottus.
Simon Mepham.
Petrus de Ikham.
Guilielmus Pagham.
Ioannes Tanetos.
Thomas Chillenden.
Guilielmus Starnfield.
Thomas Pontius.
Simon de Feversham.
Martinus de Clyvo.
Thomas de Stureia
Reginaldus Cantuariensis.
Radulphus Strodus
Thinredus Doverius.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Richardus Maidston.
Guilielmus Gillingham
Ioannes Wrotham.
Ioannes Oldcastle, Dominus Cobham
Ioannes Langdene.
Guilielmus Whyte.
Guilielmus Beckley.
Ioannes Capgrave.
Guilielmus Stapilhart.
Ioannes Fisher.
Ioannes Frithe.
Simon Fishe.
Thomas Wiat, Senior.
Leonardus Digs.
Ioannes Ponetus
Richardus Turnerus.

Elizabetha, Regina.

Hitherto (almost altogither) out of Maister Bale: to the which these may be added, that have written since.

Ioannes Colpeper.
Thomas Digs.
Thomas Harman.
Edouardus Deering.
Thomas Potter.
Reginaldus Scot.
Alexander Neville.
Georgius Harte.
Guilielmus Darrel.
Iohn Twyne.
Francis Thynne.

Hitherto of Kent in particularitie, and by way of Carde and Table: Whereof some part is drawn out of credible records, part is spoken of mine own knowledge, and part is fetched from other men by information. For the first sorte, I holde myselfe sufficiently warrented: but in the other twain, if either by want of memorie I have not taken all, or by too much credulitie have mistaken any: I pray pardon for it, and desire the reader, either to correct or supplie it, by his own discretion and iudgement. Nowe a fewe wordes of the Welch Hystorie, and then to the division of the Shyre and Countrie it selfe.

A short Counsell, as touching the British Historie.

ALBEIT that I am iustly occasioned (before I make mine entry) to speak largely, for confirmation of the credite of our Bryttish or Welsh hystorie (the faith whereof is by William Petite, and Polydore Virgile called into question), for as much, as I shall be enforced to use it in some points as a grounde worke of my frame and building: yet for that I minde not in any part of this my labour, to handle with manie wordes, matters in controversie (being otherwise sufficiently charged with things more incident to my purpose, and no lesse fit to be known), and bicause also that matter hath alreadie founde more learned and diligent patrones, I will with fewe words passe it over, contenting myselfe, if I should have added to other mens heapes, one small proofe or twaine, which by chaunce I gleaned after them, referring such as desire more

abundant testimonies, to the reading of Iohn Leland and Sir Iohn ap Rese, two learned men, that have plentifully written therein.

Geffrey of Monmouth

The state of the matter in question is this, whether Geffrey of Monmouth be the authour of the Bryttish storie as William of Newborow and Polydore charge him), or the translatour thereof onely out of the Bryttish, as himselfe in his booke professeth. Whereof must needes ensue, that if the work be his owne, it hath no more credite, than he himselfe (being the author) could bring unto it: but if he did onely translate that, which Walter the Archdeacon of Oxforde brought out of Normandie, and delivered unto him, then doth not the estimation depende upon Geffrey, but upon som other (whatsoever he were) that first wrate it.

Now, that it may appeare unto you, that he was onely the interpreter of that which came out of Normandie, I will call to witnesse, Henrie the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, who lived in the time of King Henrie the first, and was somewhat before William Petites daies, who (as himself confesseth) was borne in the beginning of the reigne of King Stephan, about which time Geffrey of Monmouth was on live also.

This Henrie (besides a learned historie of the realme) wrate three severall treatises which I have seen: one intituled *De miraculis Angliæ:* another *De serie Regum potentissimorum:* and the thirde, *De origine Regum Brytannorum.* In this latter, he saith plainly, that at such time as he travailed towards Rome, he founde (in an auncient librarie of the Abbay of Bec) an old booke, intituled likewise, *De origine Regum Brytannorum,* the which beginning at the

arrivall of Brute, ended with the actes of Cadwalader, and agreed throughout (as by collation I collected) with this our Bryttish historie, which I doubt whether Henrie of Huntingdon had ever seene. Now therefore, if this were an old booke in his time, it could not be newe in the daies of Petite, that succeeded him: and if the argument were written before in the Bryttish toong, it is very probable, that he was not the first author, but onely the translator thereof into Latine. For further likelyhoode whereof, I myselfe have an auncient Brittish, or Welsh copie, which I reserve for shewe, and do reverence for the antiquity, little doubting, but that it was written before the daies of William Petite, who, as he was the first, so upon the matter recken I him the onely man, that ever impugned the Bryttish hystorie. For as touching Polydore (though he were a man singularly well learned) yet since he was of our owne time, and no longer since, his forces must of necessitie bee thought to be bent, rather against the veritie, than against the antiquitie of that writing. Wherein if he shall seeke to discredit the whole worke, for that in some partes it conteineth matter, not only unlikely, but incredible also: then shall he both deprive this nation of all manner of knowledge of their first beginning, and open the way for us also to call into question the origine and antiquities of Spaine, Fraunce, Germanie, yea and of Italie his owne countrie: in which, that which Livie reporteth of Romulus and Remus, Numa and Aegeria, is as farre remooved from all suspicion of truth, as any thing whatsoever that Galfride writeth, either of Brute, Merlin, or King Arthur himself. Polydore.

Seeing therefore, that as corne hath his chaffe, and

metall his drosse, and that even so can there hardly any writer of the auncient hystorie of any nation be found out, that hath not his proper vanities mixed with sincere veritie: the part of a wise reader shall be, not to reject the one for doubt of the other, but rather with the fire and fan of iudgment and discretion, to trie and sift them asunder. And as my purpose is for mine owne part, to use the commoditie thereof, so oft as it shall like me: so my counsell shall be, that other men will, both in this and other, observe this one rule, that they neither reiect without reason, nor receive without discretion and iudgment.

Thus much in my way, for assertion of the Bryttish hystorie I thought good to say, once for all, to the ende that from hencefoorth (whatsoever occasion of debate shall be offered, concerning either the veritie or antiquitie of the same), I neither trouble myselfe, nor tarrie my reader, with any further defence, or apologie.

The Bishops See, and Diocesse, of Canterbury.

HE that shall advisedly consider the plot of this Shyre, may finde three diverse (and those not unfit) waies, to divide it: one, by breaking the whole into the East and West Kent: another, by parting it (as Watling streate leadeth) into North, and South Kent: and a third, by severing it into the two distinct Dioceses of Canterbury, and Rochester. Of these three, I have determined to chuse the last, both bicause that kinde of division hath as certain limits, as any of the former, and for that, it seemeth to me the most con-

The order of this Description.

venient severance, being wrought both by bounde of place, and of iurisdiction also. And bicause the See of Canterbury is not onely the more worthie of the twaine, but also the Metropolitane and chiefe of the whole realme: I have thought good, in the first place, to shew the beginning and increase of that Bishopricke, and afterward to prosecute the description and hystorie of the principall parts belonging to the same.

It is to be seene, in the Bryttish hystorie, and others, that at such time as King Lucius (the first christened Prince of this land) had renounced the damnable darkness of Paganisme, and embraced the glorious light of the Gospell of God, he changed the Arch-flamines of London, York, and Caerleon, into so many Archbishops: and the Flamines of other inferiour places, into inferiour Bishops, throughout his whole realme. Howbeit, this matter is not so cleare, but that it is encountered by William Petit, which (in the proheme of his historie) affirmeth boldly, that the Britons which professed Christian religion within this island before the comming of Augustine, were contented with Bishops onely, and that Augustine himselfe was the verie first that ever had the Archbishops palle amongst us. As touching Bishops, it is evident by Beda himselfe, that both before, and in Augustines time, Wales alone had seven at the least: but as for Archbishops, although for mine owne opinion I think with William (the rather for that I suppose, that the simplicity of the Britain clergie, was not as then enamoured with the vain titles of Romane arrogancie), yet to the end that the reader may be thereby the more iustly occasioned to make inquisition of the truth in that point, it shall not be greatly out of his way, to

Flamines turned into Bishops.

send him by Silvester Giraldus Cambrensis, a man (considering that age) excellently well learned, and which lived about the same time with William Petit (or William of Newborow) as some call him. This man, in a booke which he entituled *Itinerarium Walliæ*, setteth foorth most plainly the Archbishops, that in olde time were at Caerleon, their translation from thence to Saint Davids, their transmigration from Saint Davids over the sea into Normandie, and the whole catalogue of their succession in each of those places.

But here, some man, thinking me more mindful to direct others, than carefull to keepe mine owne way, will happily aske me: what pertaineth it (I pray you) to Canterbury, whether there have beene Archbishops at London, Yorke, and Caerleon, or no? Yes (no doubt) it maketh greatly to our treatise of Canterbury: for, not onely the forenamed Bryttish hystorie, Mathew of Westminster, and William of Malmesbury doe shew manifestly, that Augustine by great iniurie spoiled London of this dignitie of the Archbishops chaire, bestowing the same upon Canterbury: but the Epistle of Pope Gregorie himselfe also (which is to be read in the Ecclesiasticall storie of Beda) convinceth him of manifest presumption and arrogancy, in that he sticked not to prefer his owne fantasie and liking, before the Pope (his masters) institution, and commandement. For Pope Gregorie appointed two Archbishops, the one at London, the other at Yorke, whereof either should have under him twelve inferiour Bishops, and whereof neither should be subiect to other: onely (for Augustines honour) he willed, that they all should be under him, during his life. But Augustine not so contented, both remained resident during all his life

London spoiled of the Archbishopricke.

at Canterbury, and before he died consecrated Laurence Archbishop there, least, either by his owne death, or want of another fit man to fil the place, the chaire might happily be carried to London, as Gregorie the Pope had appointed.

Mathew of Westminster saith, that Merlin had prophesied, *Dignitas Londoniæ, adornabit Dorobriniam.* William Malmesbury writeth, that he did it *Sedulitate Regis hospitis* (meaning King Ethelbert), *et charitate civium captus:* but I think verily, that he ment thereby to leave a glorious monument of his swelling pride and vanitie: whereunto I am the rather led, by the observation of his stately behaviour used towards the Brittish Bishops, and some other of his acts, that savour greatly of vain-glorie, ambition, and insolencie. Whatsoever the cause were that moved him thus to apparell Canterbury with the Archbishop of Londons Palle, at Canterbury hath it continued ever sithence, saving that at one time, Offa the King of Mercia (or middle England) partly of a disposition to honour his owne countrie, and partly of a iust displeasure conceived against Lambright (or Ianbright, as some copies have it, the thirteenth Archbishop) for matter of treason, translated the honour of the See, either wholy, or partly, to Lichfield: but there it remained not long: for after the death of King Offa, Kenulfus his successour restored Ethelard to his place at Canterbury againe.

The whole Province of this Bishopricke of Canterbury, was at the first divided by Theodorus (the seventh Bishop) into five Dioceses only: howbeit in processe of time it grew to twentie and one, besides itself, leaving to Yorke (which by the first institution

The increase of the Archbishopricke.

Contention for the Primacie.

should have had as many as it) but Durham, Carleil, and Chester only. And whereas by the same ordinance of Gregorie, neither of these Archbishops ought to be inferiour to other, save only in respect of the prioritie of their consecration. Lanfranc (thinking it good reason that he should make a conquest of the English Clergie, since his maister King William had vanquished the whole nation) contended at Windsore
1072. with Thomas Norman (Archbishop of Yorke) for the primacie, and there (by iudgment before Hugo the Popes Legate) recovered it from him: so that ever since, the one is called, *Totius Angliæ primas*, and the other, *Angliæ primas* without any further addition. Of which iudgement, one (forsooth) hath yeelded this great reason: that even as the Kentish people, by an auncient prerogative of manhood, do challenge the first front in each battel, from the inhabitants of other countries: so the Archbishop of their Shyre, ought by good congruence to be preferred before the rest of the Bishops of the whole Realme. Moreover, whereas

The Archbishops place in the generall Councell.

before time, the place of this Archbishop in the general Councell, was to sit next to the Bishop of Sainct Ruffines, Anselmus the successor of this Lanfranc (for recompence of the good service that hee had done, in ruffling against Priests wives, and resisting the
1099. King for the investiture of clerks) was by Pope Urbane endowed with this accession of honour, that he and his successours, should from thencefoorth have place in all generall Councels, at the Popes right foote, who then said withall, *Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam.*

And thus the Archbishops of Canterburie, by the fraude of Augustine, by the power of Lanfranc, and by

the industrie of Anselme, were much exalted: but how much that was to the greevous displeasure, and pining envie, of the Archbyshops of Yorke, you shall perceive by that which followeth.

Wrastling for the Primacie.

King Henry the first, kept (upon a time) a stately Christmas at Windsore, where (the manner of our Kings then being at certeine solemne times to weare their crownes) Thurstine of Yorke (having his crosse borne up before him) offered to set the crowne upon the Kings head: but William of Canterbury withstood it stoutly, and so prevayled by the favour of the King, and the helpe of the standers by, that Thurstine was not onely disappointed of his purpose, but he (and his crosse also) thrust cleane out of the doores. 1127.

William of Yorke (the next in succession after Thurstine, both in the See and quarel) perceiving that the force of his predecessor prevailed nothing, attempted by his owne humble meanes (first made to the King, and after to the Pope) to winne the coronation of King Henry the seconde, from Theobald the next Archbyshop of Canterbury: but when hee had received repulse in that sort of suite also, and found no way left to make avengement upon his enimie, he returned home, all wroth, and (mixing poison in the chalice, at his Masse) wreaked the anger upon himselfe. 1155.

After this, another hurley-burley happened in a Synode, assembled at Westminster, in the time of King Henry the second, before Cardinall Hugo, (Pope Alexanders Legate) betweene Richard and Roger, then Archbishops of these two Sees, upon occasion, that Roger of Yorke comming of purpose (as it should seeme) first to the assembly, had taken up the place on the right hande of the Cardinall, which when 1178.

Richard of Canterbury had espied, he refused to sit downe in the second roome, complayning greatly of this preiudice done to his See: whereupon, after sundry replies of speech, the weaker in disputation (after the late maner of shrewde Schoole-boies in London streetes), descended from hote wordes, to hastie blowes, in which encounter, the Archbyshop of Canterbury (through the multitude of his meiney) obteined the better: so that he not onely plucked the other out of his place, and (trampling upon his bodie with his feete) all to rent and tare his casule, chimer, and rochet, but also disturbed the holy Synode therewithall in such wise, that the Cardinall for feare betooke him to his feet, the company departed their businesse undone, and the Bishops themselves moved suite at Rome for the finishing of their controversie. By these, and such other successes, on the one side the Byshops of Canterbury following, tooke such courage, that from thencefoorth they woulde not permit the Byshops of Yorke to beare up the crosse, either in their presence, or province: And on the other side, the Byshops of Yorke conceived such griefe of heart, disdaine, and offence, that from time to time they spared no occasion to attempt both the one and the other.

1268. Whereupon, in the time of a Parleament, holden at London in the reigne of King Henrie the thirde, Boniface (Archbishop of Canterbury) interdicted the Londoners, bicause they had suffered the Bishop of Yorke to beare up his crosse, whiles he was in the citie. And much to do there was (within a few yeeres after) between Robert Kylwarby of Canterbury, and Walter Giffard of Yorke, bicause hee of Yorke advanced his crosse, as he passed through Kent towards the generall Councell.

The like happened also, at two other severall times, betweene Friar Peckham (Archbishop of Canterburie) and William Winkewane, and Iohn de Roma (Archbishops of Yorke) in the days of King Edward the first. And in the sixt yeere of the reigne of King Edward the thirde, when the Parlement was summoned to Yorke, to treate of the Scottish affaires, Iohn Stratford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, fearing that he should not be permitted to have his crosse quietly caried up in that province, would neither himselfe come, nor suffer any Bishop of his owne province to appeere, at that place: and so most peevishly frustrated the assembly of the King, his nobilitie, commons, and the rest of the cleargie. At the length, the matter being yet once more set on foote betweene Simon Islepe (the Archbishop of this countrie) and his adversarie the incumbent of Yorke for that time, King Edward the third (in whose reigne also that variance was revived) resumed the matter into his owne hands, and made a final composition betweene them, the which hee published under his broade seal to this effect: first, that eche of them should freely, and without empeachment of the other, beare up his crosse in the others province, but yet so, that hee of Yorke and his successours for ever, in signe of subjection, should within two moneths after their inthronization, either bring, or sende, to Canterburie, the image of an Archbishop bearing a crosse, or some other jewell wrought in fine golde, to the value of forty pounds, and offer it openly there upon Saint Thomas Beckets shryne: then, that in all Synodes of the clergie, and assemblies where the King should happen to be present, he of Canterbury should have the right hande, and the

1272.

1352.

The ende of the strife for bearing up the crosse.

other the lefte: finally, that in broade streetes, and high waies, their cross-bearers should go togither, but yet in narrow lanes, and in the entries of doores and gates, the crossier of Canterbury should go before, and the other come behind, for feare of iustling.

So that (as you see) the Bishops of Canterbury evermore prevailing by favour and obstinacy, they of Yorke were driven in the end, to give over in the plaine fielde, for very despaire, wanhope, and weerinesse.

But here by the way, I would faine, for my learning, know of these godly Fathers, or rather (since themselves can not now make answere) of some of their ungodly favourers, whether this their Helena, this crosse (for the bearing whereof they contended so long, and so bitterly, that a man might doubt with the Poet, *Peccat uter Cruce dignius)* whether (I say) it were exalted, as the signe of that Crosse whereon Christ triumphed over the divell, or else but for a flagge and antsigne of their owne pride, whereby they sought to triumph and insult the one over the other? And againe, if it were Christes cross, then why they did forbid it to be advaunced, at any time, by any person, or in any place? Or if it were but their owne, then why they did, and yet do, commande us simple soules, not onely with great humilitie, but with divine honour also, to prostrate ourselves, and to adore it? I am sure they may be ashamed to affirme it to bee the one, and I think they will be ashamed to confesse it to bee the other. I will cease therefore to urge it any further, and will prosecute the catalogue of the Archbishops of this See, since the arrivall of Augustine. In the which, the first seaven, bee of that number which Pope Gregorie sent hither out of Italie: the

next twenty three, and Stigande, were Saxons: all the residue, Normanes and Englishmen. And bicause there is some variance as touching the times of their continuance and sitting, I purpose to shewe (under one view) the opinion of two sundrie authours, so farre foorth as they have spoken thereof, that is to saie, William of Malmesburie, and an ancient Chronicler of Coventrie (whose name I have not hitherto learned), and in the residue to follow our own late and received writers.

The beginnings of their Governments, after the Annales of Canterbury.	*The yeeres of their continuance in Government, after the opinion of*	
An. Do.	*Wil. Malm.*	*Chron. Coven.*
599. Augustine, whom our Louanists call the English Apostle.	16.	16.
612. Laurence.	5.	5.
617. Mellite.	5.	5.
624. Iustus.	3.	9.
626. Honorius.	26.	20.
653. Deusdedit, or Deodat: the first Saxon Archbishop: his own name was Frithona, which for his singular demerites towardes his countrie was chaunged to Deus dedit, or a Deo datus.	10.	9.
Wighard, which died at Rome before his consecration.		

An. Do.	*Wil. Malm.*	*Chron. Coven.*
668. Theodore, a Græcian borne, and the last of those that came out of Italie.	22.	22.
692. Brightwald.	37.	38.
731. Tatwine.	3.	4.
737. Nothelinus, or Iocelin	5.	7.
741. Cuthbert the first that was buried in Christs church, and that obtained churchyardes for England.	17.	17.
759. Bregwine.	3.	3.
774. Lanbright, or Ianbright in his time the See was translated to Lichfield.	17.	17.
790. Aethelwardus, he recovered the See to Canterbury againe.		23.
Wulfredus, or Wifred	28.	28.
830. Fegeldus, or Swithredus, or Feolagildus.	three moneths.	
831. Celnothus, or Eilnothus.	41.	41.
890. Etheredus, or Etheldredus.	18.	18.
Pleimundus, one of the learned men that instructed King Alfred.	34.	34.
925. Athelmus, or Athelinus	12.	13.
947. Wulfhenius, or Wulfhelmus.	13.	14.

An. Do.	*Wil. Malm.*	*Chron. Coven.*
956. Odo, or Odosegodus.	5.	20.
958. Elfsius, or Elfsinus, or Elsinus, which died before his consecration, in his iourny towards Rome, in revenge (as they say) bicause hee came in by Simonie, and sporned at the tumb of his predecessor. Brithelmus, was elected: but King Edgar reiected him.		
970. Dunstanus, the faimous Jugler.	—	26.
989. Ethelgarus, or Agelgarus.	1.	1.
991. Siricius, by his advice King Etheldred gave to the Danes a great summe of monie.	5.	5.
996. Alfricus.		
1004. Aelfegus, hee was slaine by the Danes.	6.	6.
1012. Livingus, or Ethelstanus. Eilwardus.	7.	7.
1020. Egelnothus.	18.	18.
1038. Eadsius, or Edsinus, who for sicknes committed the charge to Siwardus, the Abbat of Abingdon, and after	11.	11.

An. Do.		*Wil. Malm.*	*Chron. Coven.*
	Bishop of Rochester, whiche neverthelesse vouchesafed not to finde him necessaries.		
1050.	Robertus Gemeticensis, the first Norman, advaunced by King Edward the Confessor.	12.	12.
1053.	Stigandus, deposed by the Conquerour.	17.	17.
1072.	Lanfrancus, in his time the Bishops Sees were first remooved from villages to cities.	19.	19.
1093.	Anselmus, in his time law was first made to divorce Priestes from their wives.	16.	16.
1114.	Radulphus Roffensis, surnamed Nugax.	—	9.
1122.	Willimus de Corveil, he crowned Stephan, against his faith given to Maude the Empress. He builded the newe Church for Monks in the South part of Dovor.	—	15.
1138.	Theobaldus, he was endowed first, with the title of Legatus Natus, by Pope Innocent the second.	—	23.

An. Do.		*Wil. Malm.*	*Chron. Coven.*
1162.	Thomas Becket, the first Englishman after the Conquest.	—	8.
	Robertus, the Abbat of Bec was elected, but he refused it.		
1173.	Richardus, the Pryor of Dover.	—	9.
1183.	Baldwinus, the Bishop of Worcester: he died in the expedition, that King Richard the first made into Syria, and was before at great contention with the Monks.	—	7.
	Reginaldus, hee died before consecration.		
1193.	Hubertus, who was at once Archbishop, Chauncelour, & Chiefe Iustice of England.	—	13.
1205.	Stephanus de Langton, the cause of the trouble of King John.	—	21.
1228.	Gualterus de Evesham, elected, but refused both by the King and Pope, for the insufficiencie of learning.		
1229.	Richardus Magnus.	—	8.

An. Do.	*Wil. Malm.*	*Chron. Coven.*
1233. Ioannes, the Subprior of Christs church, was elected after the Pope had refused one Ralph Neuel, but this Iohn resigned, in whose place Iohn Blund was chosen, but that election also was repealed.		
1234. Edmundus de Abingdon, the one and twentie Bishop of Canterburie that the Popes had canonized. He departed the Realme, and died for anger of a repulse.	- - — - - -	7.
1244. Bonifacius, uncle to Elenor, the wife of Henrie the thirde.	- - -- - - -	26.
1270. Wilhelmus de Chillenden, elected, but he resigned to the Pope, who chose Kilwardby.		
1272. Robertus Kilwardby, friar preacher, he builded the Blackfriars in London.	- - — - - -	6.
1278. Iohannes Burnel, Bishop of Bathe elected, but the Pope refused him, and appointed friar Peckam.		

An. Do.	*Wil. Malm.*	*Chron. Coven.*
1279. Iohannes de Peckam, a friar Minor, borne in Sussex: made Wingham College.	- - —	- - - 13.
1292. Robertus de Winchelsey, a notable traitour to the King, and true servant to the Pope.	- - —	- - - 19.
Thomas de Cobham, elected, but refused by the Pope, hee was commonly called *Bonus Clericus*.		
1312. Walterus Reignold.	- - —	- - - 14.
1328. Simon de Mepham.	- - 5. *Thus far out of the Story of* Coventrie.	
1334. Iohannes de Stratford, borne in Stratforde upon Aven: where he founded a College.	- - -	29.
1350. Iohannes Offord, or Ufford.		
Thomas Bradwardine.		
1350. Symon Islepe, he founded Canterbury College in Oxford.	- - -	17.
1367. Symon Langham.	- - -	2.
1369. Wilhelmus Witlesey.	- - -	5.
1375. Symon Sudbury.	- - -	6.
1381. Wilhelmus Courtenay	- - -	15.
1396. Thomas Arundel, attainted of treason, by Parleament, in the one	- - -	18.

An. Do.		*Yeeres of their Government.*
	and twentie yeere of Richard the Second. He built a good part of the body of the Church of Trinity in Canterbury.	
	Rogerus Walden, in the exile of Arundell: but deposed: then made Bishop of London, and againe deposed, and died in the 7. yeere of Henrie the Fourth.	
1414.	Henricus Chicheley, built Alsoules, and S. Iohns College in Oxford, and the College of Higham Ferries.	29.
1443.	Iohannes Stafford.	8.
1452.	Iohannes Kempe: builded Wye College.	3.
1455.	Thomas Bourchier.	33.
1486.	Ioannes Moorton, builded and repaired much at Knol, Maydstone, Alington park, Charing, Forde, Lambeth, and Canterbury.	14.
	Thomas Langton, elected but he died before consecration.	
1500,	Hen. Deane, or Deny.	2.

An. Do.	*Yeeres of their Government.*
Willielmus Warham, builded the most part of Otford house: and made the iron work upon the coping of Rochester bridge.	- - - 28.
Thomas Cranmer, he was burned for the truth.	
Reginaldus Poole.	- - - 3.
Matthæus Parker.	
1575. Edmund. Gryndal.	
1583. Ioan. Whiteguift.	

Thus have you the succession of seventie and two Archbishops, in the recitall whereof, I doe (of purpose) spare to dispute the variance arising amongst writers, as touching the continuance, and true times of their government: which discrepance, groweth partly, by the default of the auctors themselves, not observing the due accompt of yeers, and partly by the unskill of such as have untruly copied out their works: I willingly reserve also for other places, sundrie the histories of their lives and doings, both bicause I thinke it fruitlesse to reconcile such maner of disagreements, and also for that (as I said before of the Kings) I deeme it impertinent to my purpose, to speake further of any thing, than the very place in hand shall iustlie give me occasion.

It followeth therefore, that according to purpose and promise, I handle such particular places within this Diocese, as are mentioned in hystorie: in which treatie, I will observe this order: first to begin at Tanet, and to peruse the East and South Shores, till

The order of this description of Kent.

I come to the limits betweene this Shyre and Sussex: then to ascend Northward, and to visit such places, as lie along the bounds of this Diocese and Rochester, returning by the mouth of Medway to Tanet againe, which is the whole circuit of this Bishopricke: and lastly, to describe such places, as lie in the body and midst of the same.

TANET, *called in Brytish,* Inis Rhuochym, *of the Shore* Rutupi: *it is named of some writers, in Latine (or rather Greeke)* Thanatos, *of others* Toliapis, *and* Teno, *in Saxon,* ꝥenet, *instead of* þænet.

IULIUS Solinus (in his description of England) saith thus of Tanet: *Thanatos nullo serpitur angue, et asportata inde terra angues necat.* There be no snakes in Tanet (saith he) and the earth that is brought from thence, will kill them. But whether hee wrote this of any sure understanding that hee had of the qualitie of the soile, or onely by coniecture at the worde Θάνατος, which in Greeke signifieth death, or killing, I wote not, and much less dare I determine, bicause hitherto neither I myselfe have heard of any region heereabout (onely Ireland excepted) which beareth not both snakes and other venomous wormes, neither am I yet perswaded, that this place borowed the name out of the Greek, but that it rather tooke it of the proper language, of this our nation and native countrie: for þænet, in the Saxon, or olde English tongue, soundeth as much as, moisted, or watered: which derivation, how wel it standeth with the scitua-

No snakes in Tanet.

tion of Tanet, being peninsula, and watered or iled (in manner) rounde about, I had rather without reasoning referre to every mans iudgement, than by debate of manie wordes, either to trouble the reader, or to interrupt mine own order. Leaving the name therefore, I will resort to the thing, and shewe you out of Beda, and others, the content and storie of this Ile.

There lieth (saieth Beda, speaking of the place, where King Ethelbert entertained Augustine) in the East part of Kent, an Iland called Tanet, conteining (after the manner of the English accompt) sixe hundred families, or Hides of lande (as the Saxon booke of Beda hath) which be indeede after the opinion of auncient writers, ploughlandes: it is divided from the continent (or maine lande) by the river called Wantsume, which is about three furlongs broade, and to bee passed over in two places onely.

A hyde of land, or a ploughland be all one.

The water Wantsume.

Heereunto if you adde the opinion of Polydore and Twyne, the description will be the more evident. It conteineth (saith Polydore) about nine miles in length, and not much lesse in breadth, and it was sometime divorced from the continent by a water, but now it is almost united againe. There be right credible persons yet living (saith Twyne) that have often seene, not only small boates, but vessels of good burden, to passe to and fro, upon this Wantsume, where now the water (especially towards the West) is cleane excluded: and there be apparent markes, that Sarre (where they now go over) was a proper haven: all which is happened, by reason that the fresh is not able to checke the salt water, that cloyeth the chanell.

As touching the hystorie, you may reade in Geffray of Monmouth, that after such time as the Brytons had

deposed Vortiger their King, for that hee brought in the Saxons, which began soone after their entrie to shewe themselves indeede, such as they were in name (not shieldes against the Pictes and Scots, but swords to shed the Brittaine bloud). Vortimer his sonne (whom they placed in his seate) so streightned the Saxons in this Ile (the which, as William of Malmesbury writeth, Vortiger had given them to inhabite, at their first arrivall), that for a colour they sent Vortiger to treate with him of peace, and in the meane while for feare, conveied themselves to their ships, and sailed home. The same authour reporteth, that after this, Cador (the Duke of Cornewall) by commaundement of King Arthur, chased the Saxons into Tanet, where he slewe Childric their leader, and received many of the residue to grace and mercy.

For (Seax) in their language, signifieth a sword, an axe, or hatchet.

The Saxons also themselves, after that in processe of time they had gotten the dominion over the Britons, enioyed not the possession of Tanet in much better quiet than the Britons had done before them. For (to omit that King Edgar committed the Ile of Tanet to open spoile, for robbing English merchants in contempt of his commandement, bicause that was not an acte of a raging enimie, but of a iust revenging Prince) I will begin with King Athulf (the father of Alfred) in whose daies the Danes fought in Tanet against Ealhere (the Duke, or captain of Kent), and Huda (the
853. Duke of Surrey), and slaying them both, overthrewe their powers, and possessed the Ile. After this, in the
864. time of the same King, they soiourned with their armie a whole winter in Tanet: and lastly (in the reigne of
980. King Etheldred) they herried, spoiled, and sacked it in such sort, that the religious persons were constrained

to abandon the place: for I finde, that shortly after King Canutus gave the bodie of Mildred, and all the lands belonging to Minster Abbay (that then was in this Ile) to the Monks of Saint Augustines, at Canterbury.

But for as much as good order requireth, that I should tell you of the foundation, before 1 speak of the fall, you shall heare out of William Thorne (one that made an appendix to the historie of Thomas Spot, both Monks of Saint Augustines) the occasion of the first fabulous beginning of this Abbay.

The occasion of the building of Minster Abbay.

Certaine servants, or officers (saith he) of Egbright (the third King of Kent after Ethelbert) had done great iniurie to a noble woman called Domneua (the mother of Saint Mildred), in recompence of which wrongs, the King made an Herodian othe, and promised upon his honour to give hir whatsoever she would aske him. 596.

The woman (instructed belike by some Monkish counsellour) begged of him so much grounde to build an Abbay upon, as a tame deere (that shee nourished) would run over at a breath: heereto the King had consented foorthwith, saving that one Tymor (a counseller of his) standing by, blamed him of great inconsideration, for that he would upon the uncertaine course of a deare, departe to his certaine losse with any part of so good a soile: but the earth (saith William Thorne) immediately opened, and swalowed him alive, in memorie whereof, the place till his time, was called Tymor's leape. Well, the King and this gentlewoman proceeded in their bargaine, the hynde was put foorth, and it ran the space of fourtie and eight ploughlandes, before it ceassed.

And thus Domneua (by the helpe of the King) builded at Minster (within that precinct) a Monasterie, or Minster of Nonnes, upon such like discretion (you may be sure) as Ramsay Abbay was pitched, even iust where a Bull by chance had scraped, and as Rome itselfe (for whose favour these follies he devised) was edified, even in the place where the she Woulfe gave Romulus and Remus their sucke.

For it was called Roma, of Ruma, a pap or dugge.

680. Over this Abbay or Mynster, Mildred (of whom we spake) the daughter of Meruaile (that was son to Penda, King of midle England) became the Lady and Abbasse: who, bicause she was of noble linage, and had gotten togither seventie women (all which Theodorus the seaventh Bishop veiled for Nonnes) she easily obteined to be registred in our English Kalendar, and to bee worshipped for a Saint, both at Tanet while hir body lay there, and at St. Augustine's, after that it was translated thither. And no marvell at all, for if you will beleeve the authour of the worke called *Nova Legenda Angliæ)* yourselfe will easily vouchsafe hir the honor.

S. Mildreds miracles. This woman (saith hee) was so mightily defended with divine power, that lying in a hot oven three hours togither, she suffered not of the flame: she was also endued with such godlike vertue, that comming out of Fraunce, the very stone whereon she first stepped at Ippedsflete in this Isle, received the impression of hir foote, and reteined it for ever, having besides this propertie, that whether soever you remooved the same, it woulde within short time, and without helpe of mans hande, returne to the former place againe: and finally, she was so diligently garded with Gods Angell attending upon hir, that when the divell (finding hir at

Ippedsflete.

praiers) had put out the candell that was before hir, the angell foorthwith lighted it unto hir again.

And this (no doubt) was the cause, that the religious persons of S. Augustines, and of S. Gregories at Canterburie, fell at great dissention for her, eche affirming, that after the spoile of Tanet, her bones were remooved to their Monasterie: the one claiming by King Canu- 1085.
tus, as we saide before, and the other deriving from Archbishop Lanfranc, who (as they affirmed) at the dotation of their house, bestowed upon it (amongst other things of great price) the translated reliques of Mildred, and Edburgaes bodies.

Howsoever that were, they both made marchandize of hir myracles, and the Monkes of S. Augustines perceiving, that by the dissolution of the Monasterie, and the absence of the Saints, their towne of Minster in 1116.
Tanet was falne to decaie, of verie conscience, and for pities sake, by the meane of Hughe their Abbat, procured at the hands of King Henrie the First, the graunt of a Market to bee holden there, which I wot not whether it inioyeth to this day, or no.

Thus much of the Isle and Mynster Abbay: now a worde or two touching Ippedsflete, whereof I spake Ebsfleet.
before, and of Stonor, another place, within the Isle, and then I will leave Tanet, and proceede in my iourney.

This Ippedsflete, now called Ebsfleet, is the place where Hengist and Horsa (the Saxon captaines) came first on lande, and it is of divers Chroniclers diversly termed, some calling it Ippinesflete, others Heoppinesflete, and others Wippedsflete. These of the last sorte write, that it tooke the name of one Wipped (a nobleman amongst the Saxons) who onely was slaine on that part, when Aurel. Ambrose (the leader of the

Britons) lost twelve of his principall chiefteins in one conflict. Indeede, the name soundeth, the place where
473. Wipped, or Ipped swimmed, which I could have agreed to bee the same, that is at this day called, Wapflete in Essex (the rather for that Ralph Higden writeth, that the Britons never invaded Kent, after the battayle at Craforde, which was before this overthrowe that I last spake of): howbeit, since the writer of our holy Legend laieth it in Tanet, I am contented to subscribe.

Stonor. In this Isle over against Sandwiche lieth Stonor, sometime a haven towne also, knowen by the name Lapis Tituli: for in the reigne of William Rufus, there arose a suite in lawe betweene the Londoners, and the Abbat of S. Augustines (then owner of the place) as touching the right of the haven of Stonor, wherein by the favourable aide of the Prince, the
1090. Monkes (as Thomas Spot, their owne Chronicler reporteth) did prevaile, and the Citizens had the overthrowe. Not long after which time, they obteined of King Henrie the First, a faire to be holden yeerely at this towne, five daies togither, before and after the
1104. feast of the translation of S. Augustine.

Now woulde I foorthwith leade you from the Isle of Tanet, to the ruines of Richborow, saving that the Goodwine is before mine eie, whereof I pray you first harken what I have to say.

The GOODWINE, *or* GOODWINE SANDS: *Lomea after Twyne.*

Earl Godwine, and his sonnes. THERE lived in the time of King Edwarde (commonly called the Confessour), a nobleman named Godwine, whose daughter Edgithe, the same King, by

great instance of his nobilitie (being otherwise of himselfe disposed to have lived sole) tooke unto his wife. By reason whereof, not onely this Godwine himselfe (being at the first but a cowheards sonne, and afterward advaunced to honour by King Canutus, whose sister by fraude he obteined to wife) became of great power and authoritie within this realme: but his sonnes also (being five in number) were by the Kings gift advaunced to large livelyhoods and honourable offices. For Goodwine was Earle of Kent, Sussex, Hamshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwal: 1050.
his eldest sonne Swane, had Oxfordshire, Barkshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Somerset: Harold held Essex, Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire: Tosti, had Northumberland: and Gurte, and Leofwine, possessed other places, &c. But as it is hard in great prosperitie to keepe due temperance (for *Superbia est vitium rebus solenne secundis:* pride is a fault that accustomably followeth prosperitie): so this man and his sonnes, being puffed up with the pride of the Kings favour, their owne power, policie, and possessions, contemned all other, and forgat themselves: abusing the simplicitie of the King by evill counsel, treading under foote the nobilitie by great disdaine, and oppressing the common people by insatiable rauine, extortion, and tyrannie. So that immediately, and at once, they pulled upon their heads, the heavie displeasure of the Prince, the immortall hatred of the noblemen, and the bitter execration and curse of the common sort. Whereupon the King for a season banished them, the nobles never after liked them, and the poore people not onely railed upon them while they lived, but also

by devised tales (as the manner is) laboured to make them hateful to all posteritie after their death. And amongst other things touching Godwine himselfe, they feigned, that he was choked at Winchester (or Windsore, as others say, for liers cannot lightly agree) with a morsel of bread, and that this his land in Kent sunke suddenly into the sea. Neither were these things continued in memorie, by the mouthes of the unlearned people onely, but committed to writing also, by the hands and pens of Monks, Frears, aud others of the learned sort: so that in course of time, the matter was past all paradventure, and the things believed for undoubted veritie.

And whatsoever hath been heeretofore thought of these matters, having now iust occasion offered me to
1100. treat of the thing, I will not spare to speake that which I have red in some credible writers, and which I do thinke meete to be beleeved of all indifferent readers.

The cause of Goodwyn Sandes. And first of all, touching this place itselfe, Silvester Giraldus (in his *Itinerarie* of Wales) and many others, do write, that about the end of the reigne of King William Rufus (or the beginning of Henry the First), there was a sudden and mightie inundation of the Sea, by the which a great part of Flaunders, and of the lowe countries thereabout, was drenched, and lost; so that many of the inhabitants (being thereby expulsed from their seates) came over into England, and made sute to the same King Henrie, for some place of dwelling within his dominion. The King pitying their calamitie, and seeing that they might be profitable to his realm,
The arte of clothing. by instructing his people in the art of clothing, (wherein at that time they chiefly excelled) first placed them

about Carlile in the North countrie, and afterward (upon cause) remooved them to Rosse and Haverford in Wales. Now at the same time that this happened in Flaunders, the like harme was done in sundry places, both of England and Scotland also, as Hector Boëthius the Scottish historiographer most plainly writeth, affirming, that (amongst other) this place, being sometime maine land, and of the possession of the Earl Godwine, was then first violently overwhelmed with a light sand, wherewith it not onely remaineth covered ever since, but is become withall *(Navium gurges, et vorago)* a most dreadfull gulfe, and ship swalower, sometime passable by foote, and sometime laied under water, *in dubio pelagi, terræque;* so as it may bee said either sea, or land, or neither of both.

This thing, as I cannot but marvell how it hath escaped the pens of our owne countrie writers, the rather for that some of them (living about that time) have mention of that harme in the Lowe Countrie: so I sticke not to accept it for assured truth, considering either the auctoritie of the writer himselfe, being a diligent and learned man, or the circumstances of the thing that he hath left written, being in itselfe both reasonable, and likely.

And thus I might wel make an end: but bicause I have already taken occasion to accuse them of forgerie, which affirme Godwine to have been choked at the boord, I trust it shall be no great offence (though beside purpose, yet for declaration of the truth), to reherse shortly, what some credible storiers have reported of that matter, concerning the person of Godwine also. And to the end that the trueth may

appeere, by collation of the divers reports, I will first shew, what the common opinion and tale of his death is, and then afterward what these other men write concerning the same.

The death of Earle Godwine.

Ealred, the Abbat of Ryuauxe (who tooke paines to pen the history of the same King Edwards whole life, and of whom all others (as I thinke) learned this tale) saith: that while the King and Godwine sate at the table, accompanied with others of the nobilitie, it chanced the cupbearer (as he brought wine to the bourd) to slip with the one foote, and yet by good strength of his other leg, to recover himselfe without falling: which thing the Earle earnestly marking, said pleasantly, that there one brother had well helped another: Mary (quoth the King) so might me mine, ne haddest thou been Earle Godwine: casting in his dish the murder of his brother Alfred, which was done to death at Elie by the counsell of Godwine, as hereafter (in fit place for it) shall appeere. Hereat the Earle was sore moved, and thinking it more than time to make his purgation, tooke a morsell of bread into his hand, and praying (with great and vehement obtestation) that it might choke him, if he by any meanes caused the slaughter, or consented thereto, he put the bread into his mouth, and was immediately strangled therewithall.

Some write, that this bread was before accursed by Wulstane, the holy Bishop of Worcester, after a certain manner then used, and called Coppnebꝺ, as in the table to the Saxon lawes is to bee seene. But this Ealred affirmeth, that after the woords spoken by the Earle, the King himselfe blessed the bread with the signe of the crosse: and therefore these men agree

i. Cursed bread.

as well togither, as blessing and cursing be one like to another.

But letting that and them passe, heare (I beseech you) what Alfred of Beverly (a learned man, that lived in the time of King Henrie the first, somwhat before this Abbat Ealred) saith, touching this matter: *Godwinus gravi morbo ex improviso percussus, ac Regi ad mensam Wintoniæ assidens, mutus in ipsa sede declinavit, ac postea in cameram Regis à filiis deportatus, moritur. Quidam autem dicunt, &c.* Godwine, being suddenlie stricken with a greevous disease, as he sate at the table with the King at Winchester, fell downe from his stoole, and was carried by his sonnes into the Kings chamber, where he died: but some say that he was choked, &c. And to the same effect writeth Marianus the Scot. Simeon also, the Chanter of Durham, which lived about the time of this Alfred, or rather before him, treating of this matter, hath these words: *Godwinus gravi morbo percussus, in ipsa sede declinavit, & post horas quinque moritur.* Godwine being taken with a greevous disease, dropped downe from the place where he sate, and died within five houres after.

Thus, these men report another manner of his death, the one using no mention at all of any accursed bread, and the other reciting it but as a tale, And for the more plaine detection of the deceipt of this Abbat, he that will reade the seconde booke of William Malmes. *De Regibus*, shall finde, that the occasion, and introduction of this matter (I meane, the slipping of the Kings cupbearer, and the speech that proceeded thereof, namely, that one brother had well helped another) is woorde for woord stolen from thence: for

William (which lived before Ealred) reporteth, that King Ethelstane, by persuasion of one that was his cupbearer, had banished Eadwine his owne brother, for suspicion of treason, and had committed him to the seas and windes in an olde, shaken, and fraile vessell, without saile, oare, or companion (save one Esquier onely), in which exile he perished, and that afterward, the King (understanding his brothers innocencie, and sorowing his owne rashnes) tooke occasion by sight of his cupbearers foot slipping, to be avenged of the false accusation, even as it is here tolde of King Edward.

But Ealred, forsooth, was so fully disposed to magnifie King Edward (bicause he so much magnified the Monkish and single life) that he sticked not at greater matters than this, affirming boldly, that the same King, while he heard Masse at Westminster, sawe betweene the Priests hands, Christ blessing him with his fingers: that at another Masse he sawe the seven sleepers at Ephesus, turne themselves on the one side, after they had slept seventie yeeres togither on the other: which, seeing it was within five yeeres of so many as Epimenides slept, Ealred (in my phansie) is woorthie to have the second game at the whetstone: furthermore, that S. Iohn Baptist sent to King Edwarde, a ring of gold from Ierusalem, which he himselfe had some time before given to a poore man, that asked almes of him in the name of S. Iohn: and such other matters of like credit, which both for the vanitie of the things themselves (being meete to have place in Philopseudes of Lucian), and for the desire that I have to keepe order, I will pretermit, and returne to my purpose.

Thevisions of Edward the Confessour.

Epimenides did sleep 75. yeeres.

i. Love Lye, or game for the whetstone.

RICHBOROWE, *in Latine,* Rutupiæ, *and* Rutupis: Urbs Rutupina: *in Saxon* (Reptaceaptap) *and* Richbery, *the name being forged (as I conjectured) of the Bryttish worde* (Rwyd) *which signifieth a net, in token that it stood by fishing: or (as Master Camden more likely gesseth) of* Rhyd Tusith, *that is, of the* Sande, *as* Sandwich, *and* Sandy bay, *neere unto it.*

MATHEW (the Monke of Westminster, and authour of the worke called *Flores Historiarum)* taketh the place which Beda, Ptolome, and others call Rutupi, to bee Sandwich, and therefore hee applieth to the one whatsoever hee findeth of the other: but bicause Iohn Leland (a man generally acquainted with the antiquities of the realme) affirmeth in his worke which he intituled *(Syllabus in Genethliacon Eadverdi)* Rutupi to have beene, where Richborow now is (to which opinion I rather incline) I thinke good to give them severall titles, and to speake of Richborowe by itselfe, leaving till fit place (for Sandwich also) such matter, as of right belongeth thereunto.

The whole shoare of Kent therefore, that lyeth over against Dunkircke, Calaice, and Boloigne, is of Iuvenal, Lucan, Ptolome, Antoninus, and others, called Rutupiæ, or Rutupinum littus: and that place of England which Beda taketh to bee neerest to the Morines (a people of Gallia Belgica, at this daie comprehending Picardie, Boloigne, Artoys, and some part of the Lowe Countries) is of Iohn Leland inter-

preted to bee Richborow, not past half a mile distant from Sandwich towarde the North. The same man also, persuaded partly by the viewe of the place itselfe, and partly by the authority of one Gotcelinus, supposeth, that Richborow was of auncient time a citie of some price, and that it had within it a palaice, where King Ethelbert received Augustine. As for the title of a citie, I doubt not but that if the ruines of the auncient wals yet extant, the matter whereof is flint, long, white and red brickes of the Bryttaine fashion, and a cement of lime and seasand, or the remnants of the Romane coyne more often found there, and in greater plentie than elsewhere, did not at all inforce the likelihoode: yet the authoritie of Beda alone (which calleth it plainly by the name of a citie) woulde suffice to winne so much: but whether it were that Palaice of King Ethelbert, from whence hee went to entertaine Augustine, he that shall advisely read the 25. Chapter of Beda, his first booke, shall have iust cause to doubt: forasmuch as hee sheweth manifestly, that the King came (from his palaice) into the Isle of Thanet to Augustine: and Leland saith, that Richborow was then within Thanet, although that since that time the water hath chaunged his olde course, and so shut it cleane out of the Island. But the scituation of the place (beeing above the water course) will not admit that inclosure of it.

Richeborow was sometime a Citie.

Nowe, where some men (as I saide) have taken it to bee Sandwich, I take them to bee greatly deceived.

Sandwiche is not Rutupi.

For Richborow, being corruptly so sounded, for Reptsborow, hath remaining in it the very rootes (as I may speake it) of Reptachester: And Reptachester (saith Beda) and Rutupi Portus, are all one: So then

(Chester) being turned to (Borow) (which be indeede two wordes, but yet in manner of one signification and effect) Rept, and Riche, have some affinitie the one with the other, but neither Riche, Repta, nor Rutupi, can have with Sandwiche any manner of similitude. In which opinion, I am the more willing to dwell, bicause since the first publishing of this Perambulation, I finde myselfe very learnedly seconded by Master Camden: And I cannot subscribe to Iohn Twyne, who striveth to perswade, that Rutupie is Dover, with like successe as he laboureth to proove that Gessoriacum is Calaice, and not Boloigne. Thus much therefore, of the name and antiquitie of this poore place, which was in time of the olde Romanes and Brytons of great price, and the common Port of arrivall out of Fraunce: whereof we finde no other note in later hystorie, either bicause the same was long since (before the comming of the Saxons) neglected, when as the Romanes had lost their interest within this Realme: Or else, for that soone after their arrivall it either fell by their force, or else decaied by reason that the water chaunged his course and left it dry: So that now most aptly that may be said of this towne neare to the Isle Thanet, which Vergill sometime wrate of Tened itselfe, saying,

Dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant,
Nunc tantum sinus, & statio malè fida carinis.

A wealthie land, while Priams state, and kingdome upright stoade,
But now a bay, and harbour bad, for ships to lye at roade.

Hitherto of Richborow, nowe will I make towarde Sandwiche, the first of the Portes (as my iourney lyeth) and by the way speake somewhat of the Five Portes in generall.

The CINQUE PORTES.

The antiquitie of the Portes.

I finde in the booke of the generall survey of the Realme, which William the Conquerour caused to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, bicause (as Mathew Parise saith) it spared no man, but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day will do, that Dover, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of King Edward the Confessour, discharged almost of all manner of impositions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in consideration of such service to bee done by them upon the Sea, as in their speciall titles shall heereafter appeere.

Whereupon, although I might ground reasonable coniecture, that the immunitie of the haven Townes (which wee now call by a certaine number, the Cinque Portes) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet forasmuch as I read in the Chartre of King Edward the first after the conquest (which is reported in our booke of Entries) a recitall of the graunts of sundrie Kings to the Five Portes, the same reaching no higher than to William the Conquerour, I will leave my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting myselfe to yeeld to the Conquerour, the thanks of other mens benefites, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case

then stoode) to like better of his confirmation (or second gift) then of King Edwardes first graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceede in some manner of array, I will first shew, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Five Portes, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what service they ought, and did in times passed: and lastly, what priviledges they have therefore, and by what persons they have been governed.

Which be the Five Portes.

If I should iudge by the common, and rude verse,

Dover, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

I must say, that Dover, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelsey (for that is, Frigmare ventus), bee the Five Portes: Againe, if I should be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Portes that sende Barons to the Parleament, I must then adde to these, Hastings and Hyde, for they also have their Barons as well as the other: and so shoulde I not onely, not shewe which were the first Five, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number, and doubtfulnes. Leaving the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour and suspition of his authoritie, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I wil flie to Henrie Bracton, a man both auncient, learned, and credible, which lived under King Henrie the third, and wrote (above three hundred yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme. 1250.

Hee (I say) in the thirde booke of his worke, and treatise of the Crowne, taking in hande to shewe the articles inquirable before the Iustices in Eire, (or Itinerant, as wee called them, bicause they used to ride from place to place throughout the Realm, for admi-

nistration of iustice) setteth foorth a speciall fourme of writs, to be directed severally to the Baylifes of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Dover, and Sandwich, commanding them, that they shoulde cause twenty and foure of their Barons (for so their Burgesses, or Townesmen, and the Citizens of London likewise, were woont to be termed) to appeere before the Kings Iustices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such points, as should bee given in charge. Which done, he addeth moreover, that forsomuch as there was oftentimes contention betweene them of the Five Portes, and the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolke, and Donwich in Suffolke, there shoulde bee severall writtes directed to them also, returnable before the same Iustices at the same daie and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs summoned the Pleas of the Five Portes to be holden at Shipwey, if any of the same Townes had cause to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the saide Portes) he shall be at Shipwey to propound against him, and there to receave according to lawe and iustice.

Citizens were called Barons in olde time.

Contention betweene Yarmouth, and the Five Portes.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to shew that Shipwey was before King Edwarde the Firsts time, the place of assemblie for the Plees of the Five Portes: partly to notifie the difference, and controversie that long since was betweene these Portes, and those other Townes: But purposely, and chiefly, to prove, that Hastings, and Hithe, Dover, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accounted the Five principall havens or Portes, which were endowed with priviledge, and had the same ratified by the great Chartre of England.

Neither yet will I deny, but that soone after, Winchelsey and Rie might be added to the number. For I finde in an old recorde, that King Henrie the Third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gave therefore in exchaunge, the Manor of Chiltham in Gloucester shyre, and divers other landes in Lincolne shyre. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the secret affaires of his Realme, and partly bicause of a great disobedience and excesse, that was committed by the inhabitants of Winchelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therefore, although I can easily be led to thinke, that hee submitted them for their correction to the order, and governance of the Five Portes, yet I stand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priviledges, or no, for that had been a preferment, and no punishment unto them: but I suspect rather, that his sonne King Edward the First (by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the now Towne builded), was the first, that apparalled them with that preeminence. 1268. Winchelsey first builded. 1277.

By this therefore let it appeere, that Hastings, Dover, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the first Ports of priviledge: which (bicause they were Five in number) both at the first gave, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Portes, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (since that time), incorporated with them as principals, but divers other places also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and members of the same.

Now therefore somewhat shall be said, as touching the services that these Portes of dutie owe, and indeed have done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to waite on the King at the Sea, upon their owne charges) shall partly appeere by that wee shall presently say, and partly by that which shall follow in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall be made manifest by examples, drawne out of good histories: and they both shall be testified by the woords of King Edwarde the First in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Dover with twenty vessels at the Sea, whereof each to be furnished with one and twentie men for fifteene daies togither: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like service. But now whether this (like) ought to be understoode of the like altogither, both in respect of the number and service, or of the (like) in respect of service, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not heereby take upon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue, shoulde likewise finde twentie vessels apeece, then (as you shall anone see) the five Portes were subiect to a greater charge at that time, than King Edward the First laid upon them: And on the other side, if they were only chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how far to burthen them, seeing the Recorde of Domesday itself, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore leaving this as I finde it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome proofe. And first I will have recourse to King Edward the First his Chartre, in which I read, that

at ech time that the King passeth over the sea, the Portes ought to rig up fiftie and seaven ships (whereof every one to have twentie armed souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the space of fifteene daies togither.

And thus it stoode with the Portes for their general charge, in the sixt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Chartre sealed. But as touching the particular burthen of eche one, I have seene two divers testimonies, of which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to have beene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the same King, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Dover Castle, in which the particular charge is set downe in this maner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.
The lowie of Pevensey, one.
Bulverhithe and Petit Iahn, one.
Bekisborne in Kent, seaven.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ships of Hastings.
The towne of Rye, five.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the sixt.
The towne of Winchelsey, ten.
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, seaven.
The Port of Hythe, five.
The Port of Dover, nineteene.
The towne of Folkestone, seaven.
The towne of Feversham, seaven.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. five.

These ships they ought to finde upon fourtie daies summons, armed and arraied at their owne charge, and in eche of them twentie men, besides the Maister of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise maintaine five daies togither at their owne costes, giving to the Maister sixe pence by the day, to the Constable sixe pence, and to eche other Mariner three pence. And after those five daies ended, the King shall defray the wages.

The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much, or more likelihoode and credite: It standeth thus.

These bee the Five Portes of our soveraigne Lorde the King having liberties, which other Portes have not: Hasting, Romenal, Hethe, Dover, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.

The services due by the same.

Hasting shall finde 21. ships, in everie ship 21. men, and a garcion, or boye, which is called a gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seashore in Seford, Pevenshey, Hodeney, Winchelsea, Rye, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerhethe.

Romenal. 5. ships, in everie ship 21. men, and a garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe. 5. ships, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Westhethe.

Dover. 21. ships, as Hasting before. To it perteine, Folkstane, Feversham, and Saint Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cattailes.

Sandwich. 5. ships, as Romenal, and Hethe before.
To it perteine Fordwich, Reculver, Serre, and Dele, not for the soile, but for the goods.

Summe of the Ships. 57.
Summe of the Men. 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This service, the Barons of the Five Portes do acknowledge to owe to the King, upon summons yeerely (if it happen) by the spaee of 15. daies togither, at their owne costes and charges, accounting that for the first day of the 15. in which they shall spread their sailes to go towards those parts that the King intendeth: and to serve so long after 15. daies, as the King will, at his owne pay, and wages.

The g servic the Fi Portes

Thus much out of these auncient notes, whereby yourselfe may easely discerne the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, have place at this day, I must refer it to them that be privie, and of counsell with the Portes: and so leaving this also undecided, hold on the way, wherein I am entred.

This dutie of attendance therefore (being devised for the honourable transportation, and saife conduct of the Kings owne person or his armie over the narrow Seas) the Portes have not onely most diligently ever since that time performed, but furthermore also valiantly behaved themselves against the enimie from time to time, in sundrie exploits by water, as occasion hath beene proffered, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

And amongst other feates not unwoorthy perpetuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the eldest

sonne of the French King) had entered the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbishop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had sent into Fraunce for newe supply of souldiers after his
1217. death, Hubert of Borough (then captaine of Dover) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the Oracle of the woodden wals, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fourtie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of Frenchmen upon the high seas, gave them a most couragious encounter, in which hee tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest.

King Henrie the Thirde also, after that hee came to riper age, had great benefite by the service of the Cinque Portes: and King Edward the First in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull service (and especially their good endevour, then lately shewed
1278. against the Welshmen) the principall cause, and motive of that his liberall graunt.

Furthermore, about the midst of the reigne of the same King, a hundreth saile of the Navie of the Portes
1293. fought at the Sea with a fleete of 200. Frenchmen, all which (notwithstanding the great ods of the number) they tooke, and slewe, and sunke so many of the Mariners, that Fraunce was thereby (for a long season after) in maner destitute, both of seamen and shipping.

1406. Finally, and to conclude this part, in the daies of King Henrie the Fourth, the Navie of the Five Portes, under the conduct of one Henrie Paye, surprised one hundreth and twentie French ships, all laden with salt, iron, oyle, and no worse merchandize.

The priviledges of the Five Portes.

The priviledges of these Ports, being first granted by Edward the Conquerour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by

William Rufus, Henrie the Second, Richard the First, Henrie the Third, and King Edward the First, be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants have by reason of the same.

For they sende Burgesses to the Parleament, which by an honourable name be called Barons: They beare the foure staves of the Canapie over the Kings head at the time of his coronation, and they dine at the uppermost table in the great hall, on his right hand: They themselves be exempted from all paiments of subsidie: and their heires freed from wardship of body, notwithstanding any tenure. They be impleadable in their owne townes also, and not elsewhere: They have amongst themselves in each Port, their particular place of justice: They have power (if iustice be not done them) to take the inhabitants of other townes and cities in Withernam: to governe Yarmouth by their Bailife for one season of the yeere: to do iustice upon criminall offendours: To hold Plea in actions real, and personal: to take Counsance by Fine: to infranchise Villaines: and to doe sundrie other things, not lying fitly in the way of my purpose, and therefore not to be recounted at large. But I may not pretermit the Court at Shipway, for the generall assemblie of them all, and where both the Lord Wardein of the Ports taketh oth, at his first entry into that office, and they have five principall points whereof to enquire there onely, and not elsewhere, as you shall heare when we light upon that place. In the meane time, let us see, by what chiefe officer the Portes have been governed. Master Camden hath well noted, that our Wardeine of the Portes, was an imitation of the

same officer which the Romains established for defence of our coasts, and called *Littoris Saxonici,* or *tractus maritimi, Comitem,* who had the charge of nine Portes, as our Wardein had of Five. And although there be no doubt, but that the Portes were under some speciall government, in the time of the Saxons also, who best knew the necessitie thereof: yet bicause King William the First, was the first (so far as I have observed by reading) that imposed the name of Wardeine (out of his owne language, halfe French, halfe Dutch) it shall stand with the best certeintie to begin at his time, and set downe the succession of the Wardeins, in order of time, as I have collected them. But, for as much as the office of the Wardeine of the five Ports, and the Constableship of Dover castell, have long since commonly beene conioined in one person, and of later daies have been united inseparably, I wil not lose the labour in going about to single them againe, but will followe that which (in mine opinion) seemeth most likely to point out the Wardeine.

The names of the Wardeins, of the five Portes

Iohn Fynes, created by William the Conquerour, Wardein of the Portes, and Constable of Dover, by gift of inheritance.

Iames Fynes, his sonne, which died at Folkston.

Iohn Fynes, his sonne.

Walkelm, who delivered it to King Stephan, and immediately after his death, abandoned the charge, and fled into Normandie.

Allen Fynes, restored by King Henrie the Second.

Iames Fynes, his eldest sonne.

Mathew Clere (as it should seeme by Math. Par. and William Petite) who imprisoned Godfrey,

the Archbishop of Yorke, in Dover castle, as under that title shall appeere.

William of Wrotham.

Hubert of Burgh, the Earle of Kent, who being deposed, Bartram of Cryol succeeded.

Richard Gray, appointed by the Barons that warred against King Henrie the third: he was deprived of his office by Hugh Bigot, bicause he let in the Popes legate by the King's licence, and against the minde of the Nobles.

Henrie Braybrooke.

Edward the First, in the life of his father, who made Henrie Cobham his deputie, whose sonne and heire (called Iohn) founded Cobham College, *Ann.* 36. *E.* 3.

Henrie Mountforde.

Roger Leyborne, in the time of King Henrie the Third.

Stephan Penchester, in the time of Henrie the Third.

Sir Robert Asheton, buried there 1384.

Simon of Crey, in the time of Edward the First.

Hugh Spenser, the yoonger, in the time of Edwarde the second.

Edmund of Woodstock, the Earle of Kent.

Reginald Cobham, in the time of Edward the Third.

Bartholmew Burwhasse or Burgehersh, one of the first companions of the order of the Garter.

Iohn Beauchampe, of Warwike.

Sir Ralfe Spigurnel, 44. Edw. 3.

Sir Robert Herle, in the latter end of King Edward the Third.

Edmund the Earle of Cambridge.

Sir Simon Burley, whome Thomas of Woodstocke beheaded.

Lord Henrie Cobham, the sonne of Reginald Cobham.
Sir Iohn Enros.
Sir Thomas Beaumont.
Edward, the Duke of Aumarle and Yorke, whome King Henrie the fourth remooved, and substituted in place
Sir Thomas Erpingham, for a season, but afterward he gave the office to
Prince Henrie his sonne, who when he was King in possession, bestowed it upon
Humfrey, the Duke of Gloucester.
Iames Fines, Lord Saie, whom Iack Cade beheaded.
Edmund, the Duke of Somerset.
Humfrey, the Duke of Buckingham.
Simon Mountford, under King Henrie the Sixt.
Richard Nevel, the Earle of Warwike.
William, the Earle of Arundel.
Richard, the Duke of Gloucester, called afterward King Richard the Third.
Sir William Scott.
Henrie, the Duke of Yorke.
Iames Fines, the Lord Saye.
Henrie in his fathers life, afterward the eight King of that name.
Arthur Plantagenet, Vicount Lisle, bastard sonne to King Edward the Fourth.
Sir Edward Poynings.
Henrie, the yoong Earle of Richmond.
Sir Edward Guldeford.
George Boleyn, Vicount Rocheford.
Sir Thomas Cheynie, Treasurer of the Household.
Sir William Brooke, Lorde Cobham, and Lorde Chamberlaine of hir Maiesties houshold.

Thus much of the Five Portes, in generall. Now of Sandwich, the first of them in the order of my iourney, and then orderly of so many of the residue, as lie within the Shyre that I have presently in hand.

SANDWICH *is called, in Latine,* Sabulovicum, *in Saxon* Sondpic, *that is to saie, the* Sandie Towne, *bicause the coast thereabout aboundeth with Sand.*

THIS Towne (as it appeereth by the report of Leland, and as it may seeme also by the name itselfe, being mere Saxon) began by the Saxons, after the fall of poore Richborowe, which was in price while the honour of the Britons stoode upright, and was either abated by the furie of the Saxons, when they wonne that coast from them: or else came to ruine by the alteration and vicissitude of the Sea, which peradventure choked the haven thereof with light sand, as it hath since that time done this at Sandwich also.

King Canutus gave (as some write) to Christes church in Canterburie, Saint Bartholmewes arme, if happily it were not a chaungeling: for Kings and great men were oftentimes in those daies after that sort deluded, though they in the meane time bought such reliques deerely, and thought that kinde of gift most princely. Reliques, of great price.

He gave also a rich Pall, a Crowne of golde, and this haven of Sandwich, togither with the royaltie of the water on each side, so farre foorth as (a ship, being on flote at the full sea) a man might cast a short hatchet out of the vessell unto the banke.

The auncient estate of Sandwich.

The place itselfe, grew in time to be well peopled, and of woorthynesse to be one of those Portes, that found favour of privilege, in consideration of their service at the Sea.

For it appeereth by the booke of Domesday, that this was the estate of Sandwich: It lay in a hundreth belonging to itselfe, it did to the King such like service by tenure, as Dover did: It was then of the possessions of Christes Church, as I have shewed, and was appointed for the apparell of the Monks of that house, to the which it yeelded forty thousand herrings besides certaine mony, and had in it three hundreth and seven houses inhabited. And I finde not, but that the towne continued in the like plight a long space after the Conquest, until that Lewes of Fraunce brent it, in the yeere 1217. after which it grew up, and was somewhat amended againe by the Staple, which King Edward the First for a season removed thither. After all which, King Edward the Third in the 37. yeere of his reigne, giving to Christes church the Manor of Borley in Essex for it in exchaunge, reunited it to the crowne.

1064.

Sandwich spoiled, and brent.

1456.

But in the daies of King Henrie the sixt, Peter Brice (the Steward of Normandie) landed at Sandwich, and he with fire and sworde, wasted the towne in maner to ashes, and slew the inhabitants almost to the last man. Since which time, partly by the smart of that wound, and partly by the losses that it susteined within two yeeres after, by the mainteinors of the civill wars in that Kings reigne, but cheefly by the abundance of the light sand (wherewith the Sea hath of latter yeeres glutted the haven) it is declined to great decay, and were like to fall to extreme ruine, were it not presently somewhat releeved by the repaire of such, as have

abandoned their countrie for the freedome of their consciences: whose aboade how long it will bee, the Lord onely knoweth, for whose cause they suffer banishment.

The Schoole at Sandwich.

There was in this Towne before the generall suppression, a house of Carmelites, whereof I reade none other good thing, save that it brought foorth one learned man, called William Becley, in the reigne of King Henric the Sixt. But now lately (to repaire the losse of that dissolution) Roger Manwood, a man borne in the towne, and advaunced by vertue and good learning, to the degree first of a Serieant, then of a Iustice at the Lawe, and lastly to a Knight, and place of the chiefe Baron of the Escheaquer, hath for the increase of godlynesse and good letters, erected and endowed a faire Free Schoole there, from whence there is hope that the common wealth shall reape more profite after a fewe yeeres, than it receaved commoditie by the Carmelites since the time of their first foundation.

This onely is that which I had to say, either of the present or passed estate of this place: which done, I wil proceede to the narration of such other things as long since happened therabouts, partly for the illustration of the antiquitie of the towne, and partly for the setting foorth of the commoditie of the haven, but chiefely for the observation of the order which I have begun: which is, to pretermit nothing (worthie note) that I finde in storie, concerning the place that I take in hande. But bicause that which I have to say, dependeth altogither (or for the greater part) upon the hystorie of the Danes, which many yeeres togither disquieted this lande, it shall bee fit, as well for the better explication of the things presently in hande, as

also for the more easie understanding of other matters that must heereafter followe, to disclose (so compendiously as I may) the first beginning, proceeding, and ending, of the Danish affaires, wars, and troubles, within this Realme.

787. Sum of the historie, of the Danish doings, in England.

About the yeere after Christ, seven hundreth foure score and seaven, three vessels of the North East Countrie men (whose auncestors had before, within the compasse of one hundreth and fortie yeeres, sacked Rome in Italie foure severall times, and whose offspring afterward wonne Normandie from the French King) shewed themselves upon the Westerne shore of England, being sent before hand (as it is supposed) to espie the commoditie of the havens, the advantage of arrivall, the wealth and force of the inhabitants, and to the end to prepare the way for greater powers that were appointed to follow.

These had no sooner set some of their men on lande, but the Reeve, or officer of Beorhtricke, or Brictricke, (then King of the West Saxons) had knowledge thereof: who came unto them, and (demaunding the cause of their arrivall) woulde have carried them to the Kings presence: but they in their resistance slewe him: whereupon the people of the Countrie adioyning, addressed themselves to revenge, and assembling in great numbers, beate them backe to their ships, not without the losse of some of their companie.

And this was the first attempt, that ever the Danes (for so our histories cal by one general name the Danes, Norwaies, Gottes, Vandals, and others of that part) made upon England: after which time, what horrible invasions, miseries, calamities, and oppressions followed, and fell upon the inhabitants of this countrie,

shall appeere anone to bee no lesse pitifull for us to remember, than it was wofull for them to endure.

For not long after this enterprise, a fewe ships of them, made the like assay in Scotland, and within short space after that also, some other of them entred Tynemouth haven in the North part of England, and taking some small booties, returned to their vessels. 795.

Now by this experiment, they had gained sufficient knowledge of that, for which they first came: and therefore thinking it fit time to assay further, they rigged up a great number of ships, armed more store of chosen souldiers, entred the River of Thamise with five and thirtie saile, landed in despight of the people, fired, spoiled, herried, and prevailed so farre, that Egbert (who then had the Monarchie over all England) was faine to come with all his power to the reliefe and rescue. 833. The Danes enter the Thamyse.

But such was the will of God (for the punishment of Idolatrie and Superstition, which then overwhelmed this Realme) that the Danes instead of being discomfited by the Kings repaire, were marvellouslie encouraged by his misfortune. For, after that they had once gotten the better in the field against him, they were so embouldened thereby, that notwithstanding he afterward, and some other valiant Princes following, by great prowesse abated their furie in parte, yet, adioining themselves to the Britons (that then were in great enmitie with the Saxons) and swarming hither out of their owne Countrie in such flightes that the number of the slaine was continually supplied with great advauntage, they never ceassed to infeste the Realme, by the space of three hundreth yeeres and more, during the reignes of fifteene severall Kings, The continuance of the Danes, in England.

till at the last they had made Etheldred flie over into Normandie and leave them his Kingdome. During all which time, how mightily their forces increased under Hinguar, Hubba, Halfden, Guthrum, Aulaf and Hasten (their Navie being risen from three ships to three hundreth and fiftie at the least), how pitiously the East, West, South, and North parts of the Realme were wasted (the townes, cities, religious houses, and Monasteries of each quarter being consumed with flames), howe miserablie the common people were afflicted (men, women, and children on all sides going to wracke, by their tempestuous furie), howe marveilcuslie the Kings were amased (the arrivals of these their enimies being no lesse sudden, than violent), how barbarously the monuments of good learning were defaced (the same suffering more by the immanitie of this one brutish Nation, than by all the warres and conquestes of the Pictes and Scots, Romanes, and Saxons), and finally, how furiously fire and sword, famine and pestilence raged in every place, God and men, Heaven and the elements conspiring (as it were) the fatall destruction of the Realme, I may not heere stand to prosecute particularly, but (leaving each thing to fit place) I will proceede with King Ethelred, and so returne to my purpose.

980. This man above all other, was so distressed by their continuall invasions, that seeing hee wanted force to make his longer defence, he thought it best to give money for their continual peace. And therefore, charging his people with importable tributes, he first gave them, at five several payes, 113,000. pounds: and afterward promised them 48,000. yeerely: hoping, that for as much as they seemed by the manner of their

war, rather to seeke his coyne, than his kingdome, to rob, than to rule) at the least this way to have satisfied their hunger. But like as the stone called Syphnius, the more it is moisted, the harder it waxeth: so no giftes could quench the golden thirst of these greedie raveners, but the more was brought to appease them, the more stonie and inexorable they shewed themselves, never ceassing (even against promises, othes, and hostages) to execute their accustomed crueltie.

The Danes all slaine in one night.

Heereupon King Etheldred, having now exhausted the whole treasure of his Realme, and therefore more unable than ever he was, either by power or praier to helpe himselfe, or to releeve his subiects, determined by a fine policie (as he thought) to deliver both the one and the other from them. For which purpose, by the advice of one Huna (the generall of his army) he wrote letters to each part of the realme, commaunding, that upon S. Brices day (which is the morrow after S. Martins night) the English men should all at once set upon the Danes, before they had disgested the surfait of that drunken solemnitie, and so utterly kill and destroy them. This his commaundement was receaved with such liking, entertained with such secrecy, and executed with such speede and celeritie, that the Danes were suddenly, and in a manner wholy, both men, women, and children (like the sonnes in Lawe of Danaus) oppressed at once in one night: onely a few escaped by Sea into Denmarke, and there made complaint of King Etheldreds butcherie. 1012. Saint Martins drunken feast.

Sweyn, the Dane.

For revenge whereof Sweyne their King, both armed his owne people, and waged foreigne aide, and so (preparing a houge armie) tooke shipping, and arrived first here at Sandwich, and after in the North Countrie: 1013.

the terrour of whose comming was such, that it caused the Countrie people on all sides to submit themselves unto him, in so much that King Etheldred seeing the cause desperate, and himselfe destitute, fled over into
1014. Normandie with his wife, and children, friends, and familie. After which his departure, although both himselfe returned, and put Canutus (the next King of the Danes) to flight, and Edmund his sonne also fought sundry great battailles with him: yet the Danes prevailed so mightily upon them, that three of them in succession (that is to say, Canutus, Haroldus, and Hardicanutus) reigned Kings here in England almost by the space of thirty yeres togither: so much to the infamous oppression, slaverie, and thraldome of the English Nation, that every Dane was (for feare) called Lord Dane, and had at his commaundement, wheresoever he became, both man and wife, and whatsoever else he found in the house.

At the length, God, taking pitie upon the people, tooke suddenly away King Hardicanute: after whose
1042. death, the Nobilitie and Commons of the Realme, ioined so firmely and faithfully, both harts and handes, with their naturall and Liege Lorde King Edwarde, that the Danes were once againe (and for ever) expulsed this Countrie: in so much that soone after, the name (Lord Dane) being before time a woord of great awe and honour, grew to a terme and bywoorde of foule despight and reproch, turned (as it yet continueth) to Lourdaine: besides, that ever after, the common people in ioy of that deliverance, have celebrated the annuall day of Hardicanutus death (as the Romanes did their feast of Fugalia, or chasing out of the Kings) with open pastime in the streetes, calling it, even til

this our time, Hoctyde, in stead (as I think of Þucxtýðe, that is to say, the time of scorning, or mocking. Hokday.

And now thus much summarily being saide, as concerning the trueth of the Danes being heere, who ruled in this land almost thirty yeeres, and raged (without all rule) above three hundreth and fiftie, I will returne to Sandwich, disclosing therein such occurrents of the Danish doings as perteine to my purpose.

In the yeere eight hundreth fiftie and one after Christ, Athelstane the sonne of Ethulwulfe, and King of Kent (whom Mathew of Westminster taketh, or rather mistaketh, for a Bishop) fought at the Sea before Sandwich against a great Navie of the Danes, of which he tooke nine vessels, and discomfited the residue. 851.

Against another Fleete of the Danes which landed at Sandwich in the yeere one thousand and sixe, King Etheldred made this provision: that everie three hundreth and ten Hydes of Land (which Henrie Huntingdon, Mathew Parise and others, expound to be so many plowlands) should be charged with the furniture of one ship, and every eight Hydes should finde one iacke and sallet, for the defence of the Realme. By which meane, he made ready a mighty Navie to the Sea: But what through the iniurie of sudden tempest, and by defection of some of his Nobilitie, he profited nothing. King Canutus also, after that he had received the woorse in a fight in Lincolne shyre, withdrew to his ships that lay in the haven at Sandwich, and there most barbarously behaved himselfe, cutting off the handes and feete of such as he had taken for hostage, and so departed all wroth, and melancholike, into Denmarke, to repaire his armie. 1006. Provision of armour, and shipping. 1014.

The same man, at his returne hither, tooke land with his power at this towne: and so did Hardicanutus his sonne after him.

1060. Furthermore, in the daies of King Edward the Confessour, two Princes (or rather principall Pirates) of the Danes, called Lochen and Irlinge, landed at Sandwich, and laded their ships with riche spoile, wherewith they crossed over the seas to Flaunders, and there made money of it. Thus far of the Danes, now of others. At this place landed Lewes the French Kings sonne that aided the English Nobilitie against King Iohn, as we shall heereafter have cause to shew more at large.

A Maluicine. Finallie, in the reigne of King Richard the Seconde, certeine French ships were taken at the Sea, whereof some were fraught with the frame of a timber Castle (such another, I suppose, as William the Conquerour erected at Hastings, so soone as he was arrived) which they also ment to have planted in some place of this Realme, for our annoyance: but they failed of their purpose: for the Engine being taken from them, it was set up at this Towne, and used to our great safetie, and their repulse.

EASTRIE.

HAVING somewhat to say of Eastrie, I trust it shall bee no great offence, to turne our eie a little from the shoare, and deale with it in our way to Deale,

It is the name of a Towne and Hundreth within the Lath of Saint Augustines, and hath the addition of

East, for difference sake, from Westrie (commonly called Rye) neere to Winchelsey in Sussex.

Mathew of Westminster maketh report of a murther done at it, which bicause it tendeth much to the declaration of the auncient estate of the Towne, I will not sticke to rehearse so shortly as I can.

After the death of Ercombert, the seventh King of Kent, Egbert his Sonne succeeded in the kingdome, who caused to bee vertuously brought up in his Palaice (which was then at this Towne, two young Noble men of his kinred (as some say) or rather his owne brethren (as William of Malmesbury writeth) the one being called Ethelbert, and the other Etheldred: these Gentlemen so prospered in good learning, court-like manners, and feates of activitie meete for men of their yeeres and parentage, that on the one side, they gave to all well disposed persons and lovers of vertue, great expectation that they woulde become at the length woorthie of much estimation and honour: and on the other side they drew upon them, the feare, misliking, and utter hatred, of the naughtie, wicked, and malicious sort. Of the which number there was one of the King's own housholde, called Thunner, who (as vertue never wanteth hir enviers) of a certaine divelish malice, repyning at their laudable increase, never ceassed to blowe into the Kings eare most untrue accusations against them: And to the end that hee might the rather provoke the King to displeasure, hee persuaded him of great daunger towarde his estate and person by them. And for as much as the common people (who more commonly worship the Sunne rising, than going downe) had them in great admiration and reverence, hee desired the King, that either hee woulde

654.

A Courtly Sycophant.

sende them out of the Realme, or bee contented to winke at the matter if any of his friends, for the love of him, and suretie of his estate, shoulde procure to dispatch them.

The King, somewhat provoked by feare of his owne perill (though nothing desirous of their destruction) even as a little water throwen into the fire increaseth the flame, so by a colde deniall, gave courage to the attempt: and therefore, Thunner espying fit time, slewe the children, and buried their bodies in the Kings hal under the cloth of his estate. But it was not long, before there appeared in the house a bright shining piller, replenishing eche corner with such terrible and fearefull light, that the servaunts shriked at the sight thereof, and by their noise awaked the King: who, as soone as hee sawe it, was touched with the conscience of the murther wherunto hee had a little before in hart consented, and calling in great haste for Thunner, examined him straightly what was become of the children, and when hee had learned the truth, hee became most sorowfull and penitent therefore, charging himselfe with the whole crime of their deathes, for that it laie wholly in him to have saved their lives. Then sent hee for Deodat the Archbishop, and desired to understand by him, what was best to be done for expiation of the fault. This good father (thinking to have procured some gaine to his Church, by veneration of the dead bodies, if happely hee might have gotten them thither) persuaded the King to incoffen them, and to commit them to honorable buriall in Christeschurch at Canterburie: but (saith mine author) when the hearse was ready, it would not be mooved by any force toward that Church: as truely (I thinke)

A right popish myracle.

as the Crosse of Waltham with twelve Oxen and so many Kyne, could not be stirred any other way, but toward the place appointed: or as the Image of Berecinthia, which the Romanes had brought out of Asia, could not be remooved till the Vestal virgin Claudia had set to hir hande.

Heereupon the companie assaied to convey it to Saint Augustines, but that all in vain also: at the last, they agreed to leade it to the Monasterie of Watrine, and then (forsooth) it passed as lightly (saith hee) as if nothing at all had beene within it. The obsequies there honourably perfourmed, the King gave the place where this vision appeared to his sister Ermenburga, who (of a longing desire to become a veiled Nonne) had a little before abandoned her husbandes bed, and chusing out seaventie other women for hir companie, erected there a Monasterie to the name and honour of these two murthered brethren. William of Malmesbury addeth moreover, that the King gave the whole Isle of Thanet also to his Mother, to appease the wrath that shee had conceaved for the losse of these her deere children.

DELE, Dela *in Latine, after* Leland: *I conjectured that it tooke name of the Saxon* þỳlle, *which is a plaine floore or levell, by reason that it lyeth flat and levell to the Sea. But Master* Camden *with lesse violence, out of* Nennius, *deriveth it from the Bryttish* Dole, *signifiyng also a lowe place, or dale.*

THE Chronicles of Dover (as Leland reporteth, for I never saw but onely some fragments of them) have mention, that Iulius Cæsar being repulsed from Dover,

arrived at this place: which thing and his trenches upon this coast (called Romesworke) how well they may stand with Cæsars owne report in his Commentaries, I had rather leave to others to decide, than take upon me to dispute: being very well contented, where certeinty is not evident, to allow of coniectures not altogither vehement.

1539. King Henrie the Eight fortifieth his Realme.

Onely of this I hold me well assured, that King Henrie the Eight, having shaken off the intolerable yoke of the Popish tyrannie, and espying that the Emperour was offended for the divorce of Queene Katherine his wife, and that the French King had coupled the Dolphine his sonne to the Popes niece, and maried his daughter to the King of Scots, so that he might more iustly suspect them all, than safely trust any one, determined (by the aide of God) to stand upon his owne gardes and defence: and therefore with all speede, and without sparing any cost, he builded Castles, platfourmes, and blockhouses, in all needefull places of the Realme. And amongst other, fearing least the ease and advauntage of descending on lande at this part, shoulde give occasion and hardinesse to the enemies to invade him, he erected (neare togither) three fortifications, which might at all times keepe and beate the landing place, that is to say, Sandowne, Dele, and Walmere. Al which (togither with some others newly built upon the coast of Sussex) and their captaines he recommended to the surveigh, controlment, and correction of the Wardein of the Cinque Portes: as you may read in the statute purposely therefore made 32. H. 8. cap. 48. This speciall matter of Dele, Iohn Leland in *Cygnea cantione*, comprehendeth feately in these two verses.

Iactat Dela novas celebris arces,
Notus Cæsareis locus Trophæis.
Renowned Dele doth vaunt itselfe,
with Turrets newly rais'd:
For monuments of Cæsars host,
A place in storie prais'd.

Soone after the building, the place was honoured with the landing of the Lady Anne of Cleve. But now since Dover, that impregnable Fort, and Castle renowmed for antiquitie, is not many myles off, let us make unto it, and in sight of the place, unfolde the singularities of the same.

DOVER, *called diversely in Latine,* Doris, Durus, Doveria, *and* Dubris: *in Saxon,* Doꝑa: *all which seeme to be drawen from the Bryttish woordes,* Dufir, *Water, or* Dufirha, *high or steepe: the scituation being upon a high rocke over the water, which serveth to either. Some fetch the name from* Doo a fore, *meaning stopped at the mouth before, which they say* Arviragus *did. One called it* Dorobrina, *differencing it from* Canterbury *(which he termeth* Doroborni), *as if the one were* Bourne, *and the other* Bryne, *bicause the one standeth upon the* Fresh *water, and the other upon the* Salt.

THE treatise of this place shall consist of three speciall members, that is to saie, the Towne, the Castle, and the Religious buildings.

The Towne was long since somewhat estimable, howbeit that which it had (as I thinke) was both at the first derived from the other two, and ever since also

continually conserved by them. But whether I hit or misse in that coniecture, certaine it is by the testimonie of the Recorde in the Exchequer commonly called Domesday booke, that the Towne of Dover was of abilitie in the time of King Edward the Confessour, to arme yeerely twentie vessels to the Sea, by the space of fifteene daies togither, eche vessell having therein one and twentie able men. For in consideration thereof, the same King graunted to the inhabitants of Dover, not onely freedom from payment of Tholl, and other privileges throughout the Realme, but also pardoned them all manner of suite and service to any of his Courts whatsoever. The place itselfe was nevertheless (at those daies) under the protection and governance of Godwine, the Earle of Kent: for I read, that it chaunced Eustace, the Earle of Bolloine (who had maried Goda the King's sister) to come over the Seas into England, of a desire that hee had to visite the King his Brother, and that whiles his herbenger demeaned himselfe unwisely in taking up his lodgings at Dover, hee fell at variance with the Townesmen, and slewe one of them: But *Nocuit temeraria virtus*, force unadvisde, did harme. For that thing so offended the rest of the inhabitants, that immediately they ranne to weapon, and killing eighteen of the Earles servaunts, they compelled him and al his meiney to take their feete, and to seeke redresse at the Kings hands.

1051. The towne of Dover.

Godwine resisteth the King.

The King hearing the complaint, ment to make correction of the fault: but the Townesmen also had complained themselves to Godwine, who determining unadvisedlie to defend his clients and servants, opposed himselfe violently against the King his Liege

Lord and Maister. To bee short, the matter waxed (within a while) so hoate betweene them, that either side for maintenaunce of their cause arraied and conducted a great armie into the fielde. Godwine demaunded of the King, that Eustace might be delivered unto him: the King commaunded Godwine (that armes laide aside) hee would answere his disobedience by order of the Lawe: and in the ende, Godwine was banished the Realme by the sentence of the King and Nobilitie, whereupon hee and his sonnes fled over the Sea, and never ceassed to unquiet the King and spoile his subiects, till they were reconciled to his favour, and restored to their auncient estate and dignitie.

This Towne, was so sore wasted with fire, soone after the comming in of King William the Conquerour, 1295.
that it was wholly (save onely nine and twentie dwelling houses) consumed, and brought to ashes. And in the time of King Edward the First also, whiles two of the Popes Cardinales were heere in the treatie of an attonement, to be made between England and Fraunce, the Frenchmen landed at Dover in a night, and burned a great part of the Towne, and some of the religious buildings. So that in those times, it was much empaired by those misfortunes. But now in our memorie, what by decay of the haven (which King Henrie the Eight with the cost of 63,000. pounds upon a piere, but all in vaine, sought to restore) and what by the overthrowe of the reiigious house, and losse of Calaice, it was brought iu manner to miserable nakednesse and decay.

Which thing were the lesse to be pitied, had it not been accompanied with the ruine of the Castell itself,

the fall whereof would be so much the more grievous, as the fame thereof is with our auncient Storiers (above all other) most blasing and glorious. This therefore mooved the Maiestie of our Sovereigne Queene that now is, to give gratious eare to the complaint heerof presented unto hir: so as shee not onely bestowed great favours of hir owne gift, but also tooke order by Parliament in the 23. yeere of hir Reigne, for a generall helpe upon the Tonneage, towardes the relicfe of this decaied Harborow.

By which meanes, and by the industrious attenddance of sundrie gentlemen of the Countrie and others (put in trust to further the worke) a Pent and Sluyce hath been made, which both open the mouth, and scowre the bottome of the haven, delivering it from that Beache (or bowlder stone) that before choked it, and is now (as it is said of a Scorpion) converted to the medicine of that maladie which it had brought upon the place, in such sort, as where before was not foure foote of water, a ship of some hundreds may now safely go in and out.

If the like cure were done upon the fallen wals of the Towne towards the Sea, where sometime stood Cougate, Crosgate, and the Boutcherie gate, advaunced with Towers, the piere were much more both comfortable to the inhabitants, and defensible against the enemie. In the meane, let us betake us to the Castle.

Dover Castle.

The castle of Dover (say Lydgate and Rosse) was first builded by Iulius Cæsar the Romane Emperour, in memorie of whome, they of the Castell keepe till this day, certeine vessels of old wine and salts, which they affirme to be the remaine of such provision as he

brought into it. As touching the which (if they be naturall, and not sophisticate) I suppose them more likelye to have beene of that store, which Hubert de Burgh laid in there, of whom I shall have cause to say more heereafter: But as concerning the building, bicause I finde not in Cæsars owne Commentaries, mention of any fortification that hee made within the Realme, I thinke that the more credible report of the twaine, which ascribeth the foundation to Arviragus (a King of the Britons) of whom Iuvenal the Poet hath mention, saying to the Emperor Nero in this wise,

Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus, &c.

Some King thou shalt a captive take,
or els from Bryttish wayne
Shall Arviragus tumble downe,

and of whom others write, that he founde such favour in the eye of Claudius the Emperour, that he obtained his danghter to wife. But whosoever were the authour of this Castell, Mathew Parise writeth, that it was accounted in his time (which was under the reigne of King Henrie the Third) *Clavis, & Repagulum totius Regni,* the verie locke and keye of the whole Realme of England.

And truly it seemeth to me, by that which I have read of King William the Conquerour, that he also thought no lesse of it. For at such time as Harold, being in Normandie with him (whether of purpose, or against his will, I leave as I finde it, at large) made a corporall othe to put him in possession of the Crowne after the death of King Edward. It was one parcell of his othe, that he should deliver unto him this Castell, and the Well within it. The same King had

no sooner overthrown Harolde in the field, and reduced the Londoners to obedience, but foorthwith he marched with his armie toward Dover, as to a place of greatest importance, and sped in that iourney, as is already partly declared.

1067. Not long after which time also, when he had (in his owne opinion) peaceably established the government of this Realme, and was departed over into Normandie of purpose to commit the order of that countrie to Robert his sonne, divers of the shyre of Kent, knowing right well howe much it might annoy him to lose Dover, conspired with Eustace the Earle Bolloine, for the recoverie and surprise of the same. And for the better atchieving of their desire, it was agreed, that the Earle should cross the seas in a night by them appointed, at which time they would not faile with all their force to meet him, and so (ioining hands) suddenly assaile and enter it. They met accordingly, and marched by darke night toward the Castell, well furnished with scaling ladders, but by reason that the watch had discried them, they not onely failed of that which they intended, but also fell into that which they never feared: for the Souldiours within the Castell, to whom Odo the Bishop of Baieux, and Hughe Mountfort (which then were with the King in Normandie) had committed the charge thereof, kept themselves close, and suffered the assaylants to approch the wall, and then, whiles they disorderly attempted to scale it, they set wide open their gates, and made a sudden salie out of the peece, and set upon them with such force and furie, that they compelled Eustace with a fewe others to returne to his Ship, the rest of his companie being either slaine by the swoord, or destroied by fall from the Cliffe, or devoured by the Sea.

The same King also, being woorthily offended with the disobedience, avarice, and ambition of Odo (his bastard brother, whom he had promoted to the Bishopricke of Baieux, and to the Earldome of Kent), for that he had not onely by ravine and extortion, raked togither great masses of gold and treasure, which he caused to be grounde into fine powder, and (filling therewith divers pots and crocks) had sunke them in the bottoms of Rivers, intending therewithall to have purchased the Papacie of Rome: But also bicause he refused to render unto him the Countie of Kent, and was suspected for aspiring to the Crowne of this Realme: consulted with Lanfranc (the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a professed enemy to Odo) how hee might safely, and without offence to the Ecclesiasticall estate (for that he was a Bishop) both conteine that treasure within the Realme, and also deteine his person from going into Italie, whether warde he both addressed himselfe with all speede, and gathered for his traine great troupes of valiaunt and serviceable men out of every quarter. Odo, the Earle of Kent.

Lanfranc counselled the King to commit him to safe custodie, and for his defence armed him with this pretie shift: If it be laide to your charge (quoth he) that you have laide violent handes upon a sacred Bishop, Say, that you imprisoned, not the Bishop of Baieux, but the Earle of Kent. The King liked well the conceit, and causing Odo to be apprehended, cast him into a prison, whence he was not delivered during all the time of his reigne. That done, he made diligent inquisition for the hourdes of golde, and by feare of torture, caused the Bishops servants to bewray the whole treasure.

Fynes, the first Constable of DoverCastell: & the beginning of Castlegard.

Then also tooke he newe order for the government of this Shyre: and bicause he was perswaded, that nothing within the same was of more importance than Dover Castell, he seized it into his handes, foorthwith fortified it, and chose out a noble man called Iohn Fynes (of whose prowesse and fidelitie he had made good tryall), and committing unto him not onely the custodie thereof, but the government of the rest of the Portes also by gift of inheritaunce, he named him Constable of Dover, and made him Wardein of the Cinque Portes.

And to the ende that he should be of sufficient abilitie to beare the charge of the defence thereof, he gave him to the number of sixe and fiftie Knights fees of land and possession, willing him, to communicate some parts of that gift to such other valiant and trustie persons, as he shoulde best like, for the more sure conservation of that his most noble, and precious peece.

He accordingly called unto him eight other woorthie Knights, and imparting liberally unto them of that which he had freely received of the King, bounde them by tenure of their lande received, to maintaine one hundreth and twelve souldiours amongst them: which number he so divided by moneths of the yeere, that five and twentie were continually to watche and warde within the Castell for their several stintes of time, and all the rest ready at commaundement upon whatsoever necessitie.

The names of these eight were, William of Albrance, Fulbert of Dover, William Arsicke, Galfride Peverell, William Maynemouthe, Robert Porthe, Hugh Creuequer (called in the Latine Records, *De crepito corde*,

that is Crackt hart), and Adam Fitz Williams. Each of all which, had their severall charges, in sundry towres, turrets, and bulworks of the Castell, and were contented of their owne dispence, to mainteine and repaire the same: in token whereof, divers of them beare the names and titles of these new chosen Captaines, even till this our present time.

And thus Dover, being dispatched of a busie Bishop, fenced by the Kings appointment, furnished, fraught, and planted with a most faithfull Constable, vigilant Captaines, and diligent warders, gained and reteined the opinion of a most important, commodious, and necessarie peece, not onely with the native Princes and Nobility of our owne Realme, but also with such foreine Potentates, as had warre and contention with us: in so much as in sundry troubles ensuing, at sundry times afterward within this realme, it did plainly appeere, that this Castell was the chiefe marke, whereat each man directed his shot.

Estimation of Dover Castel.

For, King Stephan, in the contention that arose betweene him and Maude the Empresse about the title of the Crowne, thought that no one thing stood him more in hande, than to get the possession of Dover Castell: and therefore he never ceassed to sollicite Walkelm (that then had the custodie thereof) till he had obteined it. 1137.

Lewes also (whom I may call the French Dolphine, bicause the sonne and heire of the Crowne of Fraunce, is now so named) which by the instigation of the Pope, and invitation of the Nobilitie, invaded King Iohn (upon such cause as shall heereafter appeere) having gained, partly by terrour, and partly by surrender of the Barons that were of his faction, almost 1217.

all the Castels and Holdes lying on the South part of the Realme, could not yet thinke himselfe assured, unlesse he had Dover also. For his Father Philip, hearing that he had the possession of sundry other strong places, and that hee wanted Dover, Sware by Sainct Iames arme (which was his accustomed othe) that he had not gained one foote in Englande. And therefore, hee made thither with all his power, and besieged it streightly: but that noble Captaine, Hubert of Borrough (of whom I lately spake), which was in his time, Constable of the Castell, Wardein of the Portes, Earle of Kent, and chiefe Iustice of all England, defended it with such couragious constancie, that it was both a comfort to the English subiect, and woonder to the French enemie to behold it: in so much, as I cannot woorthily impute the deliverie of this Realme, from the perill of forreigne servitude (wherein it then stoode) to any one thing so much, as to the magnanimitie of this one man. Of whom also (by the way) I thinke good to tell you this, that in his time of Constableship at Dover, and by his meanes, the service of Castlegarde there, which had continued (as I shewed before) from the time of William the Conquerour, was with the assent of King Henrie the third converted into a paiment of money, the lande beeing charged with tenne shillings (called Castlewards) for every Warder, that it was bound to finde, and the owners thereby discharged of their personall service and attendance for ever: At which time also, he caused the same King to release by his free Chartre, the custome of Forrage due to this Castel, and that done, himselfe instituted newe lawes amongst the watchmen, and increased the number of the Warders. Thus stoode

Hubert of Brough, a noble Captaine.

1253.

it with Dover Castell, untill that King Henrie the Eight by Parleament (in the thirtie two yeere of his reigne) altered both the place and penaltie, of these Castlewardes (or rents for Castleguard) ordeining that whereas before time they were paiable at the Castle, upon the paine to double them one upon an other infinitely for every default, from thence foorth they shall be paied in the Escheaquer at Westminster, upon forfaiture of the double rent once onely, without any further forfaitures, or Sursises, as they were woont to be called. And he moreover bestowed the yeerely fee of £160. upon the Constable of the Castle and Wardeine of the five Portes, and mainteined a great number of Souldiours within the Castle and other his newly advaunced fortresses. But now, to my purpose againe.

Simon, the Earle of Leycester and leader of the Barons warre against King Henrie the Third, even at the first wrested the Castle of Dover out of the King's possession, and keeping the same during al his life, used to sende thither (as unto a place of most assuraunce) all such as hee had taken prisoners.

After his overthrowe, Edward (then Prince, and afterwarde the first King of that name) assayled it with all speede, and (by the aide of the prisoners within, which had taken the great towre to his use) obteined it: There left he prisoned, Guy the sonne of this Simon, but hee escaped soon after by corruption of his keepers. 1266.

To make an ende, the Nobilitie of that time were fully persuaded, that both the safetie and daunger of the whole Realme consisted in this one Castell: And therefore (saith Mathew Parise) that at such time as King Henrie the Third called over from beyonde the

Seas his owne brother Richard (then King of the Romanes) the Noble men (who had him in some iealousie) would not agree, that hee, or any of his, shoulde once enter within this Castell.

Not without good cause therefore, hath Dover by great preeminence beene reported the chiefe of the Five Portes, assigned by lawes of Parleament as a speciall place for passage and eschaunge, and by auncient tenure acknowledged for Ladie and Maistresse of many Manors: To it alwaies some man of great appearaunce is appointed as Captaine and governour: To, in or for it sundrie Gentlemen of the Shire paie yet their money for the auncient duty of their attendaunce and service: And to it finally, the countrey men in all times of trouble have an especiall eie and regarde.

Reparation of Dover Castell

As concerning the maintenaunce of this Castel in fortification and building, I finde not much more in storie than I have alreadie opened, which happened the rather (as I thinke) for that manie private persons within the Shyre of Kent were of long time, not onely bounde by their tenures of Castlegarde to bee ready in person for the defence, but also stoode charged in purse with the reparation of the same. Onely I reade in Iohn Rosse, that King Edwarde the Fourth, to his great expence (which others recken to have beene ten thousande poundes), amended it throughout. The last recited statute telleth us, that King Henrie the Eight was at great charge with it: and it is yet fresh in the memorie of us all, that our gracious Queene Elizabeth, hath beene at great charge in repairing the defects hereof. These be the memorable matters, that I had to recount touching this Towne and Castle. There

standeth yet, upon the high cliffe, betweene the Towne and the Peere (as it were) not farre from that place which was the house of Templers, some remaine of a Tower, now called Bredenstone, which had beene, both a Pharos for comfort of Saylors, and also a προφυλακὴ (or watch house), for defence of the inhabitants. And now, leaving these, let us passe on to the late Religious buildings.

S.Martines in Dover.

Lucius, the first christened King of the Britons, builded a Church within Dover Castell to the name and service of Christ, endowing it with the tolle or custome of the haven there: And Edbaldus (the son of Ethelbert, the first christened King of the Saxons) erected a College within the walles of the same, which Wyghtred (a successour of his) remooved into the towne, stored with two and twenty chanons, and dedicated it to the name of S. Martine. This house was afterwards suppressed, and a newe builded by King Henrie the Seconde (or rather by William Corbeil, the Archbishop in his time) stuffed by Theobalde his successour with Benedicte Monkes, and called the Pryorie of S. Martines, though commonly afterward, it obtained the name of the new worke at Dover. Betweene this house and Christes Church in Canterbury (to the which King Henrie the Second had given it) there arose (as it chaunced usually amongst houses of Religion) much contention, for certaine superiorities of iurisdiction, and for voice and suffrage in the election of the Archbishop. For on the one side, the Pryor and Convent of Dover claimed to have interest in the choice of the Archbishop, which the Pryor of Christes Church would not agree unto: And on the other side, the Pryor of Christes Church pretended to have such

725.

Contention betweene the Religious persons for trifles.

1234.

a soverainty over S. Martines, that he would not only visite the house, but also admit Monkes and Novices, at his pleasure, which the other could not beare: So that they fell to suing, provoking, and brawling (the ordinarie and onely meanes, by which Monkes used to trie their controversies) and ceassed not appealing and pleading at Rome, till they had both wearied themselves, and wasted their money. Howbeit, as it commonly falleth out, that where respect of money and rewarde guideth the iudgment and sentence, there the mightie prevaile, and the poore go to wracke: So the Monkes of Canterbury having to give more, and the Pope and his ministers being ready to take all, poore Dover was oppressed, and their Pryor in the ende constrained to submission.

And heere, bicause I am falne into mention of controversie betweene ecclesiasticall persons, of which sort our histories have plentie, the matter requireth, that I touch in fewe wordes, the evill intreaty that William Longchampe (the iolly Bishop of Elye, and Chaunceller of all England) used toward Godfrey, the Kings brother and Bishop of Yorke elect, within this Pryorie.

Long-champ, the lustie Bishop of Ely.

1191.

King Richard the First, being persuaded by the Pope and his clergie to make an expedition for the recoverie of the holy lande, partly for the performaunce of that which the King his father had purposed to do in person, and partly for satisfaction of his owne vowe (which hee made when hee tooke the crosse, as they called it, upon him) set to Portsale his kingly rights, iurisdictions, and prerogatives, his crownelandes, fermes, customes, and offices, and whatsoever he had beside, to raise money withall: and so, com-

mitting the whole government of his Realme to William the Bishop of Ely his Chancellour, hee committed himselfe and his company to the winde and Seas.

This Prelate, having now by the Kings commission the power of a Viceroy, and besides by the Popes gift the authoritie of a Legate and Vicar, and consequently the exercise of both the swordes, so ruled and reigned over the Clergie and Laitie in the Kings absence, that the one sort founde him more than a Pope, the other felt him more than a King, and they both endured him an intollerable tyrant. For hee not onely overruled the Nobility, and outfaced the Clergie, spoiling both the one and the other of their livings and promotions, for maintenaunce of his owne ryot, pompe, and excesse: But also oppressed the common people, devouring and consuming wheresoever hee became, the victuall of the countrey, with the troupes and traines of men and horses (being in number a thousand or fifteene hundreth) that continually followed him. Amongst other his practises, having gotten into his hands the revenues of the Archbishopricke of Yorke (whereof Godfrey, the Kings brother was then elected Bishop, and busie at Rome for to obtaine his consecration) and fearing that by his returne hee might bee defrauded of so sweete a morsell, hee first laboured earnestly to hinder him in his suite at Rome, and when hee sawe no successe of that attempt, hee determined to make him sure whensoever hee should returne home. And for that purpose, he tooke order with one Clere (then Sheriffe of Kent, and Constable of the Castell of Dover, to whom hee had given his sister in marriage) that he shoulde have a vigilant eie to his arrivall, and that so soone as the Archbishop

did set foote on lande, hee shoulde strip him of all his ornaments, and commit him to safe custodie within the castell. Which thing was done accordingly: for the Archbishop was no sooner arrived, and entered the Church to offer to Saint Martine sacrifice for his safe passage (as the Gentiles that escaped shipwracke were wont to do unto Neptune), but Clere and his companie came in upon him, and dooing the Chancellours commandement, violently haled him and his Chaplaines to the prison.

Heereat Iohn (then the Kings brother, but afterward King) taking iust offence, and adioyning to him for revenge the uttermost aide of the Bishops and Barons, his friendes and alies, raised a great power, and in short time so straightened the Chancellour, that hee not onely agreed to release Godfrey, but was faine himselfe also (abandoning his late pompe and glorie) to get him to Dover, and to lie with his brother Clere, as a poore, private, and despoiled person.

Howbeit, not thus able to endure long the note of infamie and confusion wherinto he was falne, he determined within himselfe to make an escape, and by shift of the place, to shroud his shame in some corner beyond the Seas: And therefore, shaving his face, and attyring himselfe like a woman, hee tooke a peece of linnen under his arme, and a yard in his hand, minding (by that disguising) to have taken vessell amongst other passingers unknowen, and so to have gotten over: But he was not at the first in all his authoritie more unlike a good man, than hee was now in this poore apparel unlike an honest woman: and therefore being at the very first discovered, he was by certaine rude fellowes openly uncased, well boxed

about the eares, and sent to the next Iustice, who conveyed him to Iohn his greatest enimie. And thus was all the gay glorie of this gallant brought to shame, his Pecocks feathers pulled, his blacke feete bewraied, his fraude unfolded, his might abated, and himselfe in the end suffered to saile over with sorrowe and ignominie.

Religious houses, in Dover.

Besides this Priorie of S. Martines (which was valued at a hundreth fourscore and eight poundes by yeere) there was lately in Dover also an Hospitall of Saint Maries, founded by Hubert of Burghe Earle of Kent, and rated at fifty nine pounds: Another house of the same sorte, called *Domus Dei* (or *Maison Dieu*), reputed worth one hundred and twentie pounds: And long since an house of Templers (as they called it) the which (togither with all other of the same kinde throughout the Realme) was suppressed in the reigne of King Edwarde the Second.

The order of the Templers, when it began.

The foundation of the first, which hospitall I have not hitherto found out, and therefore cannot deliver thereof any certaintie at all: as touching the Temple, I may safely affirme, that it was erected after the time of the Conquest, for as much as I am sure, that the order it selfe was invented after that Godfrey of Bolein had wonne Ierusalem, which was after the comming 1096. in of the Conquerour. To these also may be added for neighbourhoode sake (if you will) the Monasterie of white Chanons of S. Radegundes on the hill, little more than two miles off, valued at fourescore and eighteene poundes by yeere, and founded by one Hugh first Abbat there.

And now having perused the Towne, Castle, and religious buildings, I would make an end of Dover,

save that Mathewe Parise putteth mee in minde of one thing (not unwoorthie rehearsall) that was done in this Temple: I meane, the sealing of that submission, which King Iohn sometime made to Pandulphe (the Popes Legate) wherein he yeelded his Realme tributarie, and himselfe an obedienciarie and vassall to the Bishop of Rome. And bicause this was almost the last acte of the whole Tragedie, and can not well be understood without some recourse to the former parts and beginning: and for that some men (of late time) have taken great holde of this matter to advaunce the Popes authoritie withall, I will shortly (after my maner) recount the thing as it was done, and leave the iudgement to the indifferencie of the Reader.

1205. The Pope and King Iohn, fal out for Stephan Langton.

After the death of Hubert (the Archbishop of Canterbury) the Monks of Christs Church, agreed among themselves to choose for their Bishop, one Reginald the Subprior of their house. King Iohn (having no notice of this election, wherein no doubt he received great wrong, since they ought to have of him their *Conge deslier*) recommended unto them Iohn Gray, the Bishop of Norwich, a man that for his wisdome and learning he favoured much. Some part of the Monks, taking sudden offence at Reginalde (for that he had disclosed a secrete of their house) and being glad to satisfie the Kings desire, elected this Gray for their Bishop also, the rest of them maintaining still that former choise. Heereof grew a great sute at Rome, between the more part of the Monks on the one side, and the Suffragans of Canterbury and the lesse number of the Monks on the other side.

The Pope (upon the hearing of the cause) at the first ratified the election of Iohn Gray: howbeit after-

ward he refuseth both the elects, and preferreth Stephan Langton, whom the Monkes (bicause the matter was not before litigious enough) elected also. Now King Iohn, hearing, that not onely the election of Gray (contrarie to the Popes owne former determination) was made frustrate, but that there was also thrust into his place a man familiarly entertained by the French King (his great enimie) disliked much of the choice, and forbad Stephan the elect to enter the Realme: the Pope againe, who (as Mathew Parise writeth) sought chiefly in this his choice, *Virum strenuum*, a stoute man, that is (in plaine speech) one that could exact of the Clergie, keepe in awe the Laitie, and encounter the King and Nobilitie, seeing his champion thus rejected, beginneth to startle and stampe for anger.

First, therefore, he mooveth the King by minacing letters to admit Stephan, and (not so prevailing) he then enterdicteth him and his whole Realme: And finally, both provoketh all Potentates to make open warre upon him, and also promiseth to the King of Fraunce, full and free remission of all his sinnes, and the kingdome of England itselfe, to invade him.

This done, he solliciteth to rebellion the Bishops, Nobilitie, and Commons of the Realme, loosing them (by the plentitude of his Apostolike power) from al duty of allegiance toward their Prince. By this meanes divine service ceased, the King of Fraunce armed, the Bishops conspired, the Nobilitie made defection, and the common people wavered, uncertaine to what part to incline: To bee short, King Iohn was so pressed with suspition and feare of domesticall and foreine enimies on all sides, that (notwithstanding he

was of great and noble courage, and seemed to have forces sufficient for resistance also, if he might have trusted his souldiers) yet he was in the ende compelled to set his seale to a Chartre of submission, whereby hee acknowledged himself to holde the Crowne of England of the Popes Mitre, and promised to pay yeerely for the same and for Ireland, 1000. Marks, to the holy father and his successours for ever.

The golden Bull.

This Chartre, bicause it was afterward with great insultation and triumph closed in gold, was then commonly called, *Aurea Bulla*, the Bul of golde.

Thus, omitting the residue of this storie, no lesse tragicall and troublesome than that which I have already recited, I report me to all indifferent men, what cause Paulus Iovius, or any other Popish parasite hath (by colour of this Bull) to claime for the Pope, superioritie and dominion over the King of this Realme, since Iohn, without the assent of the estates (I mean his Nobilitie and Commons), could not (in such a gift) either binde his successours, or charge the kingdome.

And for plaine declaration that his submission proceeded not with their consent, I reade in a treatise of one Simon de Boraston (a Frier Preacher, in the time of King Edward the Third), the which he wrote con-

1245. cerning the Kings right to the Crowne of Ireland, that in the reigne of Henrie the Thirde (which next of all succeeded King Iohn) there were sent from the King, the Nobilitie, and the Commons of England, these Noble men: Hughe Bigod, Iohn Fitz Geffray, William Cantlowe, Phillip Basset, and a Lawyer named William Powicke, to the general Councell then assembled

at Lions in Fraunce, of purpose, and with commission, to require that the saide Bull sealed by King Iohn might be cancelled, for as much as it passed not by the assent of the Counsell of the Realme: and the same Authour writeth, that the Pope for that time did put them off, by colour of more waightie affaires which the Counsell had then in hand. But Mathew Parise saieth, that it was then reported, that the Bull was by good fortune burned there, in a fire that casuallie tooke and consumed the Popes owne chamber. Howsoever it were, I know, that it may well be thought needlesse, to labour further in confuting a Title so weightlesse: for it is true that Aristotle saith, *Stultum est, absurdas opiniones accuratius refellere.* It is but a follie, to labour over curiouslie, in refelling of absurdities: And therefore I will here conclude the treatise of Dover, and proceed particularlie to the rest of the places that lie on this shoare.

FOLKSTONE, *in Saxon* ꝑolcꝑtane, *Id est,* Populi Lapis, *or else,* ꝑlopꝑtane, *which signifieth a rocke, coast, or flaw of stone, which beginneth heere: for otherwise, the Cliffe from Dover till you come almost hither, is of Chalke.*

AMONGST the places lying on this shoare, woorthie of note next after Dover, followeth Folkestone, where Eadbalde, the sonne of Ethelbert, and in order of succession the sixt King of Kent, long since erected a religious Pryorie of women, at the request 640. S. Eanswide, and hir miracles.

of Eanswide, his daughter, and to the honour of S. Peter the Apostle, not in the verie place where S. Peters Church at Folkstone sometime stoode, but South from thence where the Sea many yeeres agoe hath (in maner) swallowed it. And yet, least you should thinke S. Peters Parishe church to have beene void of all reverence, I must let you know out of *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, that least the Sea should have devoured al, the reliques of S. Eanswide the first Prioresse of the Place were translated thither. The Author of that worke, reporteth many wonders of this woman: as that she lengthened the beame of a building three foote, when the Carpenters (missing in their measure) had made it so much too shorte: That she haled and drewe water over the hils and rockes against nature from Swecton, a mile off, to her Oratorie at the Sea side: That she forbad certaine ravenous birdes the countrey, which before did much harme thereabouts: That she restored the blinde, cast out the Divell, and healed innumerable folkes of their infirmities. And therefore after her death, she was by the policy of the Popish priestes, and follie of the common people, honoured for a Saint.

A Popish policie.

And no marvaile at all, for it was usuall in Papistry, not onely to magnifie their Benefactors of all sortes, but to deifie also so many of them at the least as were of noble parentage, knowing that thereby triple commoditie ensued: the first, for as much as by that meane they assured many great personages unto them: secondly, they drewe (by the awe of their example) infinite numbers of the common people after them: And lastly, they adventured the more boldly (under those honourable, and glorious names and titles) to

publish their peevish and pelting myracles. And this surely was the cause that Sexburge in Shepie, Mildred in Tanet, Etheldred in Elye, Edith at Wilton, and sundrie other simple women of Royall bloud in eche quarter, were canonized Saints. For generally the Religious of those times were as thankfull to their benefactors, as ever were the heathen nations to their first Kings and founders: the one sort Sanctifying such, as did either build them houses, or devise them orders: And the other Deifying such, as had made them Cities, or prescribed them Lawes and government. S. Sexburge, &c.

For this was it, that made Saturne, Hercules, Romulus, and others moe, to have place (in common opinion) with the Gods above the starres: and this caused Dunstane, Edgar, Ethelwold, and others, first to be Shrined heere in earth, and then to sit amongst the Saints in heaven. But let me nowe leave their policie, and returne to the Hystorie.

The yeerely value of the late suppressed Priorie at Folkstone, is alreadie set downe in the Particular of this Shyre, and besides this I have not hitherto founde any thing concerning it. Maister Camden gathereth out of Gyldas, that at Folkstone should aunciently stande one of those Turrets which the Romanes planted by certaine distances upon the South shoare of our lande against the landing of the Saxons.

Folkstone, in the time of King Edward (next before the Norman conquest) conteined 120. Sulleries, Hydes, Carowes, or ploughlands: for by all these names is the quantity of a Ploughland tearmed in the booke of Domesday: there were in it five parish churches: it was rated at the yeerely value of 110.

1052. poundes, and then belonged to the Earle Godwyne, who, and his sons sore spoiled it, what time they harried that whole coast for revenge of their banishment, as wee have often before remembred: and the greater part thereof was eftsoones burnt and spoiled, by the Scots and Frenche, ioyning handes against us, soone after the departure of King Edward the Third. But the continuall warre, which the Sea maintaineth against it, hath done more detriment than all the rest. For that violently washeth, and by peece meale wasteth it so, that not onely the Nunnerie which stood 28. pearches from the high water marke is now almost swallowed up, but the Castle, which Eadbalde (or, as some thinke, William Albranc, or Auorenche, to whome Folkstone was given) did builde, and foure of those five parish churches, be departed out of sight also. Onely some broken walles, in which are seen great brickes (the markes of Bryttish building) do remaine, and the names of the parishes of our Ladie and Saint Paule, are not cleane forgotten.

Iohn Twyne commendeth (above all others) the Oistres that come from Folkstone, as well for the taste, as for the greatnes, contending that the same were they, that for Dainties were aunciently transported to Rome: and that the coast there, all along was knowen to the Romane Poetes, Ausonius, Iuvenal, and Lucane, by the name of Rhutupiæ, Rhutupinus ager, or Rhutupinum Littus, to which ende also Master Camden doth cite them.

Sandgate Castle.

KING Henry the Eight (whose care, and coste, for the defensing of this Realme against forreine invasion, is rightly comparable with any thing that either Eadgar, or Alfred (Kings before the Conquest), bestowed, and meerely incomparable with all that ever any other his predecessours have attempted) did at the same time, and for the same respect, that wee have opened in Dele before, defraie £5000. and above, upon this platfourme, which lieth within the parish of Folkstone toward Hythe, and hee called it (of the sandie place where it is pitched) Sandgate castle.

Castle Hyll.

UPON this steepe downe, or hill (which is also in the parish of Folkstone, somwhat neerer to Hythe than Sandgate is) there are yet extant to the eie, the ruined walles of an auncient fortification: which for the height thereof might serve for a watch towre to espie the enimie, and for the compasse it might bee a sufficient receptacle for the inhabitants of this castle. This (as I coniecture) began to be neglected, after that meeter places for that purpose were builded at Saltwood and Folkstone, on eche side of it. The countrie people call it, Castle-hill, and many of them have heard the foundation thereof ascribed to King Ethelbert, the first godly King of this Shyre.

Saint Nicholas Chappell.

THEOPHILUS (the good bishop) having obteined auctoritie from the Christian Emperour Theodosius to deface the Idols of Alexandria, thought it expedient neverthelesse (as Socrates in his ecclesiasticall historie reporteth) to reserve undefaced that part of eche Idol which was most gross and filthie, to the end that it might for ever remaine a witnesse to convince those Pagan Idolators withall; who otherwise would (as he feared) in time to come have for shame denied that ever there was any such thing amongst them. If this his good and provident policie had beene put in use by some Theophilus, or such as received the like commission from King Henrie the Eight, our English Theodosius, then, either should our paganish (or popish) Idolaters have now wanted the faces to denie the veritie of such things which some of them now alreadie begin to do: Or else we shoulde not have wanted wherewith to make them blush, and to stop their mouthes, were they never so brassie and impudent. And albeit that this thing might have beene more easely perfourmed, whilest each man was guiltie of the fault, and had fresh memorie thereof: yet neverthelesse, if we had but one, or two, such good friends to God in this behalfe, as Theophilus was, amongst us, it might now yet with no lesse fidelitie and credit be conveied to posteritie: seeing that even hitherto there remaine many (and the same most credible) eie witnesses of all that maner of doing. I (in the meane season) having undertaken the Choro-

graphy of this shyre, could not (as me thought) with good conscience, silently slip over such impieties, being no lesse iniurious to God, than daungerous to men, but have therefore (and for a witnesse against the mainteiners thereof) committed to writing some such of them as I have learned, either by the faithfull report of honest persons that have seen and known the same, or els out of such written monuments as be yet extant and ready to be shewed. For, neither do I professe to open the whole packe of the Idolatries that were within this countrie, nor yet to discover the most filthy of all the rest, the one requiring more labour than I can affoorde, and the other more iudgment than I have: but I deliver such onely, as lying in my way do offer themselves, and such, as (doing as it were another thing) I have not unhappily lighted upon.

This old house therefore, standing (as you see) very neare to the towne of Hythe, but being indeed within the parish of Newington, although it may now seeme but a base Barn in your eie, yet was it sometime an Imperiall seate of great estate and maiestie. For it was Saint Nicholas chappell, and he in Papisme held the same Empire that Neptune had in Paganisme, and could (with his onely becke) both appease the rage and wallowing waves of the Sea, and also preserve from wrecke and drowning so many as called upon his name. And therefore, this is one of the places (as the Poet said)

Servati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant,
Where such as had escapte the Sea,
Were woont to leave their guifts:

Insomuch as if any of the fishermen upon this coast,

had hardly escaped the storme, and taken any store, then should Sainct Nicholas have, not onely the thanke of that deliverance, but also one, or mo, of the best fishes for an offering.

And bicause our Portes men traded the Sea and lived by quicke returne, they were not unprovided of an Eolus also that might direct the winde for their desire. For, within memorie, there were standing in Winchelsey, three parish churches, S. Lennard, S. Giles, and S. Thomas (though now S. Thomas alone serveth the Towne) and in that of S. Lennard there was erected the picture of S. Lennard the patrone of the place, holding a Fane (or Eolus scepter) in his hand, which was moovable at the pleasure of any that would turne it to such point of the Compasse as best fitted the return of the husband, or other friend, whom they expected: and so, after that done, and offering made (for without offering these Idoles would be idle) they promised to themselves the desired winde, both speedie, and prosperous. I doubt not, but our Portes men had made these Sainctes free of the Cinque Portes, even as the Thurians (a people of Italie) sometime did, who, when as Dionysius had armed thirtie ships to the Sea against them. and that suddenly a North winde arose and knocked them togither one against another till they fell in peeces, they (by and by) offered Sacrifice to the North winde, and made it free of their Citie. A thing truly, more to be sorrowed than scorned, that men, disabling Gods power, or doubting his good will, or discrediting his promise, should thus either leave him wholy, or cleave to these Idoles and make them partly coadiutors with him. But I thinke that you bee desirous to heare of Hythe it selfe, which you have already in eie, and therefore let us make unto it.

HYDE, *is written in Saxon,* Þÿþe, *that is, the Haven: and called of* Leland, *in Latine,* Portus Hithinus, *in some Recordes,* Hethe.

THE name of this place, importing (as it should seeme) by the generaltie thereof, some note of woorthinesse, and the long continued privileges thereunto belonging (it selfe being long since one of the five principall Portes) at the first led me (and happily may heereafter moove others also) to thinke, that it had beene of more estimation in time past, than by any other thing nowe apparent may well be coniectured. Howbeit, after that I had somewhat diligently searched the Saxon antiquities, from whence (if from any at all) the beginning of the same is to be derived, and had perused the booke of Domesday, wherein almost nothing (especially that might bee profitable) was pretermitted, and yet found little, or (in maner) nothing, concerning this Towne committed to memorie: I became of this minde, that either the place was at the first of little price, and for the increase thereof indowed with Privileges, or (if it had beene at any time estimable) that it continued not long in that plight.

The cause of the decay of Havens, in Kent.

And truly, whosoever shall consider, either the universall vicissitude of the Sea in all places, or the particular alteration, and chaunge, that in times passed, and now presently it worketh on the coastes of this Realme, he will easilie assent, that Townes bordering upon the Sea, and upholden by the commoditie thereof, may in short time decline to great decay, and become (in maner) worth nothing at all.

For, as the water either floweth, or forsaketh them, so must they of necessitie, either flourish, or fall; flowing (as it were) and ebbing with the Sea itselfe. The necessitie of which thing, is every where so inevitable, that al the Popish ceremonies of espousing the Sea (which the Venetians yeerely use on Saint Marks day, by casting a Golden ring into the water) cannot let, but that the Sea continually by little and little withdraweth it selfe from their Citie, and threatneth in time, utterly to forsake them.

Now therefore, as I cannot fully shew what Hide hath been in times passed, and must referre to each mans owne eie to behold what it presently is: So yet wil I not pretermit to declare out of other men such notes as I finde concerning the same.

The towne of Hythe (saith Leland) although it be now but one parish, and the same a chappell to Saltwood, did once extend it selfe two miles along the shore, and had the parishes of our Lady, Saint Nicholas, S. Michaell, and of our Lady at Westhythe, which be now destroied. And hee supposeth, that this Hythe began to increase, after such time as Westhythe and Lymne decaied, by the departure of the Sea from them. And heereof also it came to passe (as I have heard) that whereas Westhythe was long since cleane without the Iurisdiction of Saltwood, bicause it stood without that honour, this Hythe was subiect unto it, as lying within the precinct thereof, untill that our Sovereigne Ladie Elizabeth endowed them with a corporation of Maior and Iurates.

From this Towne (saith Henrie Huntingdon) Earle Godwine, and his sonnes in the time of their exile,

fetched away divers vessels lying at roade, even as they did at Rumney also, whereof we shall have place to speake more heereafter. Before this Towne (in the reigne of King Edwarde the First) a great fleete of French men shewed themselves upon the Sea, of which, one (being furnished with two hundreth Souldiours) set her men on land in the Haven, where they had no sooner pitched their foote, but the Townesmen came upon them and slew them to the last man, wherwith 1293.
the residue were so afraide, that foorthwith they hoysed up saile, and made no further attempt. This Towne also Hyde, miserably scourged.
was grievously afflicted in the beginning of the reigne of King Henrie the Fourth, in so much as (besides the furie of the pestilence, which raged al over) there were, in one day, two hundreth of the houses consumed by flame, and five of their ships with one hundreth men, drowned at the Sea: By which hurt the inhabitants were so wounded, that they began to devise how they might abandon the place, and builde them a Towne else where: Whereupon they had resolved also, had not the King by his liberall Chartre (which I have seene under his seale) released unto them, for five turnes next following (unlesse the greater necessity should in the meane time compell him to require it) their service of five ships, of one hundreth men, and of five garsons, which they ought of dutie, and at their owne charge without the helpe of any other member, to finde him by the space of fifteene daies togither. They have at this Hythe, Saint Bartilmewes hospitall (as they call it) which was erected by Hamon of Hythe (sometime Bishop of Rochester, and named of Hythe bicause it was his native towne) for the continuall

reliefe of ten poore persons, and endowed with twenty marks of yeerly profite, or thereabouts.

The shortest passage betweene England & Fraunce.

Finally, from this Towne to Boloigne (which is taken to be the same, that Cæsar calleth Gessoriacum) is the shortest cut over the Sea, betweene England and Fraunce, as some holde opinion: Others think that to be the shortest passage, which is from Dover to Calaice: and some, that, which is from one Nesse to the other. But if there be any man, that preferreth not haste before his good speede, let him (by mine advise) proove a fourth way, I meane from Dover to Withsand: for if Edmund Hadhenham, the penner of the Chronicles of Rochester, lye not shamefully, (which thing you knowe how far it is from a Monke) then at such time as King Henrie the Seconde, and Lewes the French King, were after long warre reconciled to amitie, Lewes came over to visite King Henrie, and in his returne homeward saluted Saint Thomas of Canterburie, made a princely offer at his tombe, and (bicause he was very fearefull of the water) asked of Saint Thomas, and obteined, that neither he in that passage, nor any other from thencefoorth, that crossed the Seas betweene Dover and Withsand, should suffer any maner of losse or shipwracke. But of this Saint (saving your reverence) we shall have fit place to speake more largely heereafter, and therefore let us now leave the Sea, and looke towarde Shipwey.

1180.

Thomas Becket graunteth a petition after his death.

Saltwood.

THAT Saltwood was long sithence an Honor, it may appeère by an auncient writ, directed by King

Henrie the Seconde, from beyond the Seas, to King Henrie his Sonne, for the restitution of Thomas Becket the Archbishop, to all such goodes, lands, and fees, as were taken from him during the displeasure betweene them: which writ, both for shew of the auncient forme, and bicause it conteineth matter of hystorie, I will not sticke to exemplifie, worde for word, as Mathew Parise hath recorded it. *Sciatis, quod Thomas Cant. Episcopus pacem mecum fecit ad voluntatem meam, & ideo præcipio tibi, ut ipse, & omnes sui, pacem habeant, & faciatis ei habere, & suis, omnes res suas, bene, in pace, & honorifice, sicut habuerunt tribus mensibus, antequam exirent Anglia: faciatisque venire coram vobis, de melioribus & antiquioribus militibus, de honore de* Saltwood, *& eorum juramento faciatis inquiri, quid ibi habetur de feodo Archiepiscopatus Cant. & quod recognitum fuerit esse de feodo ipsius, ipsi faciatis habere. Valete.* But if this Recorde of the Kings, suffice not to proove the honor of this place, then heare (I pray you) a woord or twain of the honourable (or rather the Pontificall) dealing of William Courtney the Archbishop and amplifier of this Castle; who, taking offence that certaine poore men (his Tenants of the Manor of Wingham) had brought him rent hay and littar to Canterbury, not openly in cartes for his glorie as they were accustomed, but closely in sackes upon their horses as their abilitie would suffer, cited them to this his castle of Saltwood, and there, after that he had shewed himselfe *(Adria iracundiorem)* as hote as a toste with the matter, he first bound them by othe to obey his owne ordinaunce, and then inioyned them for penance, that they should each one march leisurely after the

The pontificall justice of William Courtney, the Archbishop.

procession, barcheaded, and barefooted, with a sacke of hey (or strawe) on his shoulder, open at the mouth, so as the stuffe might appeere hanging out of the bag to all the beholders. Now I beseech you, what was it else for this proud Prelate, thus to insult over simple men, for so small a fault (or rather for no fault at all), but *Laureolam in Mustaceis quærere*, and no better. Before such time as this Castle came to the hands of these Archbishops, it was of the possession of Henrie of Essex, who helde it of the Sea of Canrerburie, and being accused of Treason by Robert of Mountforde, for throwing away the Kings Standarde and cowardly flight at a fight in Wales, to the great hazard of King Henrie the Seconde, being then in person thereat, hee offered to defende it by his bodie against Mountfort, and was by him vanquished in the Combatte, and left for dead: But the Monks of Reading tooke him up, and both recovered him to life, and received him into their Order, exchanging the Natural death, for that time into a Civile. For this forfeiture Henrie the Seconde seysed Saltwood, and helde it during his life: So did King Richard the First after him: But King Iohn, in the first of his reigne restored it to the Church againe. Thus farre onely, of the place: Touching Becket, we shall have cause to speake further in Canterburie, and other places following. And therefore, leaving on our right hand the stately partes of Sir Edward Poynings unperfect building at Ostenhangar, which some, by what warrant I wote not, call Oescinghangar, ascribing the first building thereof to Oesc the second King of Kent, and the restauration to Bartram Cryol, a wardein of the Five Ports, let us hear what is to be said of Shipwey.

SHIPWEY, *or* Shipweyham, *in the Recordes: commonly,* Shipwey Crosse.

BETWEENE Hyde and Westenhanger (though not in right line) lieth Shipwey, the place that was of auncient time honested with the Plees and assemblies of the Five Portes; although at this day neither by good building extant it bee much glorious, nor by any common meeting greatly frequented.

I remember, that I have read in a booke of the Privileges of the Five Portes, that certaine principall points concerning the Port townes, be determinable at Shipwey onely: that is to say, of these five: Treason against the King: Falsifying of money: Services withdrawen: False iudgment: and Treasure found. And likely it is, that the withdrawing of the triall of causes from thence to Dover Castle, hath brought decay and obscuritie upon the place.

Of this place, the whole Last of Shipwey (conteining twelve Hundrethes) at the first tooke, and yet continueth, the name: At this place, Prince Edward, the Sonne to King Henrie the Third, exacted of the Barons of the Five Portes their oth of fidelity to his Father, against the mainteiners of the Barons warre: And at this place onely our Limenarcha (or Lord Wardein of the Portes) receaveth his oathe, at his first entrie into the office. 1263. Lord Wardein of the Portes.

Whether this were at any time a Harborow for ships (as the Etymologie of the name giveth likelihoode of coniecture), or no, I dare neither affirme Shipwey somtime a haven towne.

nor denie, having neither read, nor seene, that may lead mee to the one, or the other: onely I remember, that Robert Talbot (a man of our time, and which made a Commentarie upon the Itinerarie of Antoninus Augustus) is of the opinion, that it was called Shipwey, bicause it lay in the way to the Haven where the ships were woont to ride. And that haven taketh hee to bee the same, which of Ptolomie is called καινὸς λιμην, *Novus Portus:* of Antoninus, *Limanis,* of our Chroniclers Limene Mouth, and interpreted by Leland to betoken, the mouth of the river of Rother, which now in our daies openeth into the Sea at Rye, but beforetime at Winchelsey.

The Haven Limene, & the Towne Lymne.

His coniecture is grounded partly (as you see) upon the Etymologie of the name, partly upon the consideration of some antiquities that be neare to the place, and partly also upon the report of the countrie people, who holde faste the same opinion which they have by tradition receaved from their Elders.

In deede, the name, both in Greeke, and olde English (which followeth the Greeke) that is to say, *Limen,* and Limene Mouth, doth signifie a Haven, whereof the Towne of Lymne adioyning, and the whole Deanrie, or limit of the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, in which it standeth (for that also is called Lymne) by likelyhoode tooke the name. This Haven (saith hee) stoode at the first, under a high Rocke in the Parish of Lymne, under the which there was situate a strong castle for the defence of the Porte, the ruines of which building (called Stutfalle) bee yet apparent to the eie and do environne almost ten acres of grounde. There is extant also, a faire paved cawsey, called Stonystreate, being four or five myles of length, and leading

towards Canterbury from the same porte: and they of the Towne enioy the Privileges of the Five Portes, and do reserve a brasen Horne, and a Mace, as ensignes of Castle Garde, and administration of Iustice, in olde time exercised there. There bee moreover Brytaine bricks, in the walles of the Church and of the Archedeacons house, as Master Stow, mine olde friend observing the same did enforme me. Finally, they affirme, that (the water forsaking them by little and little) decay and solitude came at the length upon the place.

For, whereas at the first, ships were accustomed to discarge at Lymne, the Sea afterwarde (either hindered by the sandes, or not helped by the fresh water) shortned his fludde, and caused the Merchaunts to unlade at Westhithe: Neither did it yet ascende so high any long season, but by continuall decreasings withdrew it selfe, and at the length compelled them to lay their wares on land at this Hithe, which nowe standeth indeede, but yet without any great benefit of the Sea, forasmuch as at this day, the water floweth not up to the Towne by a long distance.

These coniectures, and reports be resonable, but yet, as I am sure that they be utterly at variaunce with that opinion which Leland would plant of the present course of the River of Rother (as we will shew in Newendene, when we shall come to the place) so am I in doubt also, what meanes may be found to reconcile them with the relations of Asserus Meneuensis, and our old Saxon Chronicles, which seeme to affirme, that Apledore stoode upon the water Lymen: which if it be so, then I see not (the places considered) how this towne of Lymne could ever be situated upon the same River.

Apledore. The River Lymen, now Rother.

The words in effect, be these. " In the yeere, after " Christ, 893. the great armie of the Danes, lefte the " East part of Fraunce, and came to Boloigne, and " from thence with 250. vessels sailed into the mouth " of the River Limen, in Kent, which floweth from " the great woode that is called Andred: Thence they " towed up their boates foure miles into that woode " from the mouth of the River, where they found a " Castle halfe built, and a fewe Countrie men in it, all " which, togither with the village, they destroied, and " fortified at a place called Apultree." By this it may indeed at the first face seeme, that the River Limen led from Apledore to the Sea, and came not by Lymne: but yet (that I may say somewhat for Talbot) these words do not necessarily enforce so much, for that they bee not, that they towed their ships up to Apledore, but foure miles into the woode, and builded at Apledore; which they might well do, although they had come in at Hithe. To the which sense also the wordes of Asserus Meneuensis (which lived in that very time) do give somewhat the more place and libertie, when hee saith: " They towed up their ships, foure miles into " the woode, where they threwe downe a certaine " Castle halfe built, in which a fewe Churles of the " countrie were placed, and the Town also, and they " raised another stronger in a place called Apledore:" For these words (another stronger in a place called Apledore) seeme to import, that Apledore was not the Towne foure miles within the Rivers mouth which they pulled down, but some other: Which, as for the distaunce it might happely be Lymne that we have in hande, so bicause there is no apparent memorial of any such course of the River, I will not affirme it to

have been the same, but referre the decision of the whole controversie to the learned and inquisitive Reader, that will bestowe his labour to trie, and trace out the very truth.

COURTOPSTRETE, *commonly:* Court of Strete, *truly: and* Bellirica *(or rather)* Belcaire, *aunciently, that is* Bellocastrum, *the* Faire Castle.

THE opinion of the inhabitants of this place (saith Leland) is, that Courtopstrete hath been some woorthie towne: for proofe whereof, they shew the ruines of their faire Castle, that stoode hard by the Chappel heere: and they do yet reserve *(Signa prætoriana)* that is to say, a Mace and a Horne, assured badges of an incorporation. Howbeit he himselfe deemeth it to have beene but a part of the port of Limne, as it is yet but a member of the same parish.

The enemie of mankinde, and Prince of darknesse, Sathan the Divell, perceiving that the glorious and bright shining beames of Gods holy truth and gladsome Gospell had pearced the mistie thicke cloudes of ignorance, and shewed (not onely to the people of Germanie, but to the inhabitants of this island also) the true way of their deliverance from damnable errour, idolatrie, and Popish superstition: And fearing, that if he did not now bestirre him busily, he was in perill to lose infinite numbers of his subiects, and consequently no small part of that his spiritual kingdom: he practized most carefully in all places, with

Monkes, Friars, Priestes, Nonnes, and the whole rablement of his religious armie, for the holding of simple soules in wonted obedience, and the upholding of his usurped Empire in the accustomed glory, opinion, and reverence.

And for this purpose (amongst sundry sleights, set to shew in sundry places, about the latter ende and declination of that his reigne) one was wrought by the Holy Maide of Kent, in a Chappell at this towne, in devise as malicious, in deede as mischeevous, and in discoverie as notorious, as any whatsoever. But bicause the midst, and end of this Pageant, is yet fresh in the knowledge of many on live, and manifested to al men in bookes abroad: And for that the beginning thereof is knowne to very fewe, and likely in time to be hid from all, if it be not by some way or other continued in minde: I will labour, onely to bewray the same, and that in such sort, as the mainteiners thereof themselves have committed it to the worlde in writing.

For not long since, it chaunced mee to see a little Pamphlet, conteining foure and twentie leaves, penned by Edward Thwaytes, or I wote not by what doltish dreamer, printed by Robert Redman, intituled A marveilous worke of late done at Court of Streete in Kent, and published (as it pretendeth) to the devout people of that time for their spirituall consolation: in which I found the very first beginning, to have beene as followeth.

1525. The holy Maide of Kent.

About the time of Easter, in the seventeenth yeere of the Reigne of King Henrie the Eight, it hapned a certaine maiden named Elizabeth Barton (then servant to one Thomas Kob, of the Parish of Aldington, twelve myles distant from Canterbury) to bee touched

with a great infirmitie in her bodie, which did ascende at divers times up into her throte, and swelled greatly: during the time wherof, shee seemed to bee in grievous paine, in so much as a man woulde have thought that shee had suffred the pangs of death it selfe, untill the disease descended, and fell downe into the bodie againe.

Thus shee continued by fittes, the space of seaven monethes, and more, and at the laste, in the moneth of November (at which time also a young Child of her Maisters lay desperately sicke in a cradle by her) shee being vexed with the former disease, asked (with great pangs and groning) whether the Child were yet departed this life or no: And when the women that attended upon them both in their sicknesse, aunswered no, she replied, that it shoulde anone: which worde was no sooner uttered, but the childe fetched a great sighe, and withall the soule departed out of the body of it.

This her divination and foretelling, was the first matter that moved her hearers to admiration: But after this, in sundry of her fits following, although she seemed to the beholders to lie as stil as a dead bodie (not mooving any part at all) as well in the traunces themselves, as after the pangs passed also, she told plainly of divers things done at the Church and other places where she was not present, which neverthelesse she seemed (by signes proceeding from hir) most lively to beholde (as it were) with hir eie. She spake also, of heaven, hell, and purgatory, and of the ioies and sorrowes, that sundry departed soules had and suffered there: Shee preached frankly against the corruption of maners and evill life: She exhorted

repaire to the Church, hearing of Masse, confession to Priestes, praier to our Lady and Saincts, and (to be short) made in al points, confession and confirmation of the Popish Creede and Catechisme, and that so devoutly and discretely (in the opinion of mine authour) that hee thought it not possible for her to speake in that manner.

But, amongst other things, this one was ever much in hir mouthe, that She would goe home, and that she had beene at home, whereas (to the understanding of the standers by) she had never beene from home, nor from the place where she lay: whereupon, being (in a time of another traunce) demanded where That home was, she aunswered, Where she sawe and heard the ioyes of heaven, where S. Michael wayed soules, where S. Peter carried the keies, and where she hir selfe had the company of our Lady at Court of Strete, and had hartily besought hir to heale hir disease, who also had commaunded hir, to offer unto hir a Taper in hir chappell there, and to declare boldly to all Christian people, that our Lady of Court of Strete had revived hir from the very point of death: and that hir pleasure was, that it should be rong for a miracle. Which words, when her master heard, he said, that there were no Belles at that Chappell, wherunto the Maiden answered nothing, but the voice that spake in her proceeded, saying, Our blessed Lady will shew mo miracles there shortly, for if any depart this life sodainly, or by mischaunce, in deadly sin, if he be vowed to our Lady hartely, hee shall be restored to life againe, to receive shrift, and housell, and after to depart this worlde with Gods blessing. Besides this, she tolde them what meate the Heremite of that Chap-

pell of our Lady at Court of Strete had to his supper, and many other things concerning him, whereat they marvailed greatly.

And from that time forwarde, she resolved with her selfe to go to Court of Strete, and there to pray and offer to our Lady, which also she did accordingly: And was there delaide of hir cure for a certaine season, but yet (in the mean time) put in assured hope of recoverie. During which meane while, the fame of this marveylous Maiden was so spred abroade, that it came to the eares of Warham the Archbishop of Canterbury, who directed thither Doctour Bocking, Master Hadleighe and Barnes (three Monkes of Christes Church in Canterbury) father Lewes and his fellowe (two observants) his Officiall of Canterbury, and the Parson of Aldington: with commission, to examine the matter, and to informe him of the truth.

These men opposed her of the chiefe pointes of the Popish beliefe, and finding her sounde therein, not onely waded no further in the discoverie of the fraude, but gave favourable countenaunce, and ioyned with her in setting foorth of the same: So that at her next voyage to our Lady of Court of Strete, she entred the Chappell with *Ave Regina Cœlorum* in pricksong, accompanied with these Commissioners, many Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen of the best degree, and three thousand persons besides, of the common sort of people in the Countrie.

There fell she eftsoones into a marveilous passion before the Image of our Lady, much like a bodie diseased of the falling Evill, in the which she uttered sundry metricall and ryming speeches, tending to the worship of our Lady of Court of Strete (whose Chap-

pell there, shee wished to be better maintained, and to be furnished with a daily singing Priest) tending also to her owne bestowing in some Religious house, for such (saide she) was our Ladies pleasure, and tending finally and fully to the advauncement of the credite of such feined myracles, as that authour doth report. This done and understoode to the Archbishop, she was by him appointed to S. Sepulcres, a house of Nonnes in Canterbury, where she laboured sundrie times of her former disease, and continued her accustomed working of wonderous myracles, resorting often (by way of traunce onely) to our Lady of Court of Strete, who also ceassed not to shew her self mighty in operation there, lighting candels without fire, moistning womens breastes that before were drie and wanted milke, restoring all sorts of sicke to perfect health, reducing the dead to life againe, and finally dooing al good, to all such as were measured and vowed (as the popish maner was) unto her at Court of Strete.

Thus was Elizabeth Barton advaunced, from the condition of a base servaunt, to the estate of a glorious Nonne: The Heremite of Court of Strete was enriched by daily offring; S. Sepulchres got the possession of a Holy Mayden; God was blasphemed, the holy Virgine his mother mishonoured; the silly people were miserably mocked; The Bishops, Priestes, and Monkes, in the mean time with closed eies winking, and the Devill and his lymmes, with open mouth laughing at it. And thus the matter stoode sundrie yeares togither, untill at length, the question was mooved about King Henries marriage, at which time this holy Maiden (not conteining her selfe within her former bounds of hypocrisie) stepped into this matter

also, and feined that she understood by revelation, that if the King proceeded to the divorce of Queene Catherine, he shoulde not bee King of this Realme one moneth after. Whereupon, her dooings were once againe examined (not by men given over to beleeve illusions, but by such as had the prudent power of prooving spirits) and in the ende her dissimulation was deciphered, her Popish comforters were bewraied, the deceived people were well satisfied, these daungerous deceivers were worthely executed, and the Devill their Maister was quite and cleane confounded.

Sundry other good circumstaunces there be of this doing, for the understanding of all which I wil referre the reader to the twelfth chapter of the statute made in the 25. yeere of King Henrie the Eight, wherein the same be, no lesse amply, than excellently well disclosed, And by auctoritie whereof, Elizab. Barton hir selfe, Richarde Master the parson of Aldington, Edward Bocking, and Iohn Dering, monks of Christes church in Canterbury, Henry Golde a priest, Hugh Rich warden of the observant Friers in Canterbury, and Richard Risby, were (after confession of the whole practise made by Eliz. Barton to the Lordes of the privy counsell) attainted of high treason, And Iohn Fisher then Bishop of Rochester, Iohn Adeson his chaplain, Thomas Golde and Edward Thwaites gentlemen, Thomas Laurence the Register of Canterbury, and Thomas Abel priest, were attainted of misprision (or concealment) of the same treason.

If these companions could have let the King of the land alone, they might have plaied their pageants as freely, as others have beene permitted, howsoever it tendeth to the dishonour of the King of heaven. But, *An nescis longas Regibus esse manus?*

Bylsington.

AFTER the deceasse of King Edwarde the Third, and against the day of the Coronation of King Richarde the Second, which succeeded him, Iohn the King of Castile and Lions, Duke of Lancaster, and Earle both of Leycester and Lincolne, claiming in the right of his Earldome of Leycester to be high Seneschall (or Steward) at that solemnitie, and thereby to have the authoritie of hearing and determining the claimes of all such as by their tenure pretended to have any office or fee at the Kings inthronization, amongst other suites received a petition, exhibited by Richarde then Earle of Arundale and Surrey, in which the same Earle claimed the office of chief Butler, and recognized himselfe ready to perfourme the same.

Butler at the Coronation.

Whereupon, foorthwith one Edmund Staplegate, exhibited another petition, and likewise made his claime to this effect. That whereas the said Edmund, held of the King (in chiefe) the Manor of Bylsington in Kent, by the service to be his Butler at the Coronation, as plainely appeered in the booke of Fees and Serieancies in the Exchequer: And whereas also by reason of that tenure, the late King Edwarde the Thirde had both seised the landes of that petitioner (for so much as he was in his minoritie at the time of the death of Edmund Staplegate his father) and had also committed the custodie of his body to one Iefferay Chawsier (to whom he paide £104. for the same) he nowe proffered to do that service, and praied to be

Geffrey Chawsier.

admitted to the office thereof, with allowance of the fees that belonged thereunto. These claimes, and the replies also, bothe of the Earle, and of Staplegate, being heard and considered, It was then ordered (partly for the shortnesse of the time, which would not permit a full examination of the matter, and partly bicause that on the Earles side it was prooved, that his auncestors had been in possession of that office, after the alienation of the Manor of Bylsington, wheras on the other part it appeered not that the auncestors of Staplegate had ever executed the same) that for the present Coronation the Earle should be received, and the right of Staplegate, and all others, should be neverthelesse to them saved.

Priorie, at Bylsington

Thus much of the Manor of Bylsington (which lieth here on the right hande) I thought meete to impart with you, to occupy us withall in our way to Rumney: for as touching the Priorie of blacke Chanons that there was, I finde of Recorde, that it was first advaunced by Iohn Maunsell (Chauncelor of Englande) in the 31. yeere of King Henrie the Thirde: at which time, he gave unto them the Manor of Overbilsington, with a Marsh of 120. acres at Lydde, for the inclosing whereof the Prior had licence of King Edward the Thirde, in the first of his Reigne. The yeerely value you may finde in the particular of the Shyre, amongst the rest of the suppressed houses.

RUMNEY, *called in Saxon,* Rumen ea; *that is to say, The large watry place, or* Marish: *It is written in the Records, corruptly,* Rumenal, *and* Romual. Twyne *doth Latine it* Romanorum mare, *as if it had beene Sea, in their time.*

THE participation of like Privilege might well have mooved me to have placed the Portes togither, but the purpose of mine order already taken calleth me another way, and bindeth me to prosecute them as they lye in the order of my iourney.

There be in Kent therefore, two townes of this name, the Olde, and the New Rumney: as touching the latter whereof I minde not to speake, having not hitherto founde either in Recorde or Hystorie any thing pertaining thereunto: but that little which I have to say, must be of olde Rumney, which was long since a principall Port, and giveth cause of name to the new towne, even as it selfe first tooke it of the large levell and territorie of Marishe ground that is adioyning.

This towne (saith the Recorde of Domesday) was of the possession of one Robert Rumney, and holden of Odo (then Bishop of Baieux, Earle of Kent, and brother to King William the Conquerour) in the which the same Robert had thirteene Burgesses, who for their service at the Sea were acquitted of all actions and customes of charge, except fellonie, breach of the peace, and forstalling. It was sometime a good, sure, and commodious Haven, where many vessels used to

lie at Roade. For Henrie (the Archedeacon of Hun- 1053.
tingdon) maketh report, that at such time as Godwine (Earle of Kent) and his Sonnes were exiled the Realme (upon such cause of displeasure, as hath already appeered in Dover) they armed vessels to the Sea, and sought by disturbing the quiet of the people, to compell the King to their revocation. And therefore (amongst sundrie other harmes that they did on the coast of this Shyre) they entred the haven at Rumney, and led away all such ships as they found in the Harborow there.

Both the Towne of Rumney, and the Marshe, receaved great harme in the 8. yeere of the Reigne of King Edwarde the Third, by an hydeous tempest that threw downe many Steeples, and trees, and above 300. Milles and Housings there.

Thomas Becket (the Archbishop) having by froward 1168.
disobedience and stubborne pertinacitie, provoked King Henrie the Seconde to indignation against him, and fearing to abide the triall of ordinarie iustice at home, determined to appeale to the Popes favour at Rome, for which purpose hee secretly tooke boate at Rumney, minding to have escaped over: but he was driven backe by a contrarie winde, and so compelled to land against his will. The undertaking of which matter, so exasperated the King against him, that foorthwith he seased his goods, and gave commaundement by his writ to the Sheriffes of all coastes, to make arrest of all such as for any cause provoked to the Pope. Hee caused also his subiectes (from twenty yeeres of age upward) throughout the whole Realme, to renounce by oth all woonted obedience to the Sec of Rome, and sollicited earnestly the Emperour Fre-

Thomas Becket.

The Popes authoritie was abolished in England, in the time of King Henrie the Seconde.

deric, and Lewes the Frenche King, to have ioined with him in deposing Pope Alexander, for that hee so commonly receaved runnagates, and such as rebelled against their lawfull Princes.

But such was either the enmitie of Lewes the Frenche King against our King Henrie the Second, or his dull sight in discerning the profite of the whole Christian common weale, that he refused to assist the other twaine, by meanes whereof, bothe Frederic the Emperour was afterward compelled to yeeld him to the Pope, and King Henrie the Second glad (with all submission) to reconcile himself to the Archbishops favour.

Rumney Marshe.

Rumney Marshe is famous throughout the Realme, as well for the fertilitie and quantitie of the soile and levell, as also for the auncient and wholsome ordinances there used for the preservation and maintenance of the bankes and walles, against the rage of the Sea.

It conteineth (as by due computation it may appeere) 24000. Acres. For the taxation of Rumney Marsh only (not accounting Walland Marsh, Guilford Marshe, &c.) amounteth to fiftie pounds, after the rate of one halfepeny the Acre: and it is at this day governed by certaine lawes of Sewers, that were made by one Henrie Bathe (a Iustice and Commissioner for that purpose) in the time of King Henrie the Thirde. Of which his statutes, experience in time hath begotten such allowance and liking, that it was afterward not only ordered that all the lowe groundes betweene Tanet in Kent and Pemsey in Sussex should be guided by the same: But they are also now become a paterne and exemplar to all the like places of the whole

Realme whereby to be governed. The place hath in it sundry villages, although not thicke set, nor much inhabited, bicause it is *Hyeme malus, Aestate molestus, Nunquam bonus,* Evill in Winter, grievous in Sommer, and never good. As Hesiodus (the olde Poet) sometime saide of the Countrie where his Father dwelt. And therefore very reasonable is their conceite, which doe imagine that Kent hath three steps, or degrees, of which the first (say they) offereth Wealth without health: the second, giveth both Wealth and health: and the thirde affoordeth Health onely, and little or no Wealth. For, if a man, minding to passe through Kent toward London, should arrive and make his first step on land in Rumney Marshe, he shall rather finde good grasse under foote, than wholesome Aire above the head: againe, if he step over the Hilles and come into the Weald, he shall have at once the commodities, both *Cæli, & Soli,* of the Aire, and of the Earth: But if he passe that, and climbe the next step of hilles that are betweene him and London, he shall have wood, conies, and corn, for his wealth, and (toward the increase of his health) if he seeke, he shall finde, *Famem in agro lapidoso,* a good stomacke in the stonie fielde. No marvell it is therefore, if Rumney Marshe be not greatly peopled, seeing most men be yet stil of Porcius Cato his mind, who held them starke madde, that would dwell in an unwholsome Aire, were the soile never so good and fertile,

The three steps of Kent.

And heereof it came to passe, that King Edward the Fourth (in the beginning of his reigne) graunted, and each Prince sithence have confirmed, that the Inhabitants of all the towns within the limits of Rumney Marshe, should be incorporated by the name of

Baylife, 24. Iurates, and communaltie of Rumney Marshe in the countie of Kent: having a court from three weekes to three weekes, in which they hold plea of all causes and actions, reall and personall, civill and criminall: having power to choose foure Iustices of the peace yeerely amongst themselves, besides the Baylife, who is armed with the like auctoritie: having moreover, returne of all the Princes writs, the benefit of all fines, forfaites and amerciaments, the privileges of leete, lawday and tourne, and exemption from tolle and taxe, Scot and lot, fifteene and subsidie, and from so many other charges, as I suppose no one place within the Realme hath. All which was done (as it appeereth in the Charter it selfe) to allure men to inhabite the Marshe, which they had before abandoned, partly for the unholsomnesse of the soile, and partly for feare of the enemie, which had often brent and spoiled them. And whereas this princely policie hath not found such prosperous successe, as the like did in the citie of Alexandria, builded by Alexander the Great, and in New-haven, founded by Frauncis the Frenche King, that is chiefly to be imputed to the incommoditie of the place, the which (besides the inclemencie of the aire it selfe) affoordeth no one good haven or creeke for enioying the benefites of the Sea. To conclude, the court of all this libertie (togither with the recordes thereof) is kept at Dymchurch, in a place lately builte for that purpose, and thereof aptly called Newhall.

NESHE, *called in Saxon* (Neſſe) *which seemeth to be derived of the Latine* Nasus, *and signifieth a Nebbe, or nose of the land, extended into the Sea.*

THIS Cape lieth in Walland at Denge Marshe, South from Rumney, and is of the number of those places that Earle Godwine afflicted in the time of his banishment: from hence he passed towarde London, and there (by the helpe of his confederates (shewed such an assemblie, that the Bishops and Noble men (for verie feare) became petitioners to the King for his peace, and in the ende procured it. Before this Nesh, lieth a flat into the Sea, threatning great danger to unadvised Sailers. 1052.

And now, having thus viewed such places along the Sea shoare, as auncient Hystories have put me in remembrance of, I might readily take occasion, both to recommend unto you the vigilant studie of our Auncestors in providing for the defence of the Sea Coastes, and withall shew you a President or two of theirs, conteining the assesse of such particular Watch and Warde as they used there in the Reigne of King Edward the Third: in whose time also, it was first ordered, that Beacons in this Countrie (as I have told you) should have their pitch pots, and that they should be no longer made of woodstackes or piles, as they be yet in Wilshyre and elsewhere. But bicause some of those assesses were not permanent and alwaies alike (as not growing by reason of any tenure) but arbitrable from time to time at the discretion of such as it liked

Sea Watch and Beacons.

Pitchpots, and no woodpiles.

the Prince to set over the Countrie in time of warres, And for that also we at this day (God be thanked therefore) have besides the like watchfull indevor of our present governours, sundry standing platforms (as you have seene) erected to the very same end, and mainteined at the continuall charge of the Prince, I will not heere stande upon that matter, but forsaking the shore, betake me Northward to passe along the River Rother which divideth this Shire from Sussex: where, after that I shall have shewed you Apledore, Stone, and Newenden, I will pearce through the Wealde to Medway, and so labour to perfourme the rest of this purpose.

The order of this description.

APLEDORE, *corruptly, for the Saxon* Æpultpeo: *in Latine,* Malus, *that is, an Apletree.*

IN the time of King Alfred, that great swarme of the Danes which annoyed this Realme, and found not heere wherewith to satisfie the hungrie gut of their ravenous appetite, brake their companie into twaine: whereof the one passed into Fraunce, under the conducte of Hasten, and the other remained heere, under the charge of Guthrune.

The Danes doe spoile, Fraunce, & England, at one time.

This Hasten with his companie, landed in Ponteiu, ranged over all Picardie, Normandie, Angeou, Poietou and passed over Loire, even to Orleance, killing, burning, and spoiling whatsoever was in his way, in so much that besides the pitifull butcherie committed upon the people, and the inestimable bootie of their

goods taken away, he consumed to ashes above nine hundreth religious houses and Monasteries.

This done, he sent away 250. of his ships, laden with rich spoile, which came hither againe, entring into the River of Rother (then called as Leland weeneth, Lymen, at the mouth whereof old Winchelsey sometime stood), and by sudden surprise tooke a small Castle that was foure or five miles within the land, at Apultre (as some thinke) which bycause it was not of sufficient strength for their defence and coverture, they abated to the ground, and raised a new, either in the same place, or els not far from it.

Shortly after, commeth Hasten himselfe also, with eightie saile more, and sailing up the River of Thamise, he fortifieth at Middleton now Mylton, over against the Ile of Shepy: Which thing when King Alfred understoode, he gathered his power with all haste, and marching into Kent, encamped betweene the two hostes of his enimies, and did so beare himselfe, that in the ende he constrained Hasten to desire peace, and to give his owne othe, and two of his Sonnes in hostage, for observation of the same.

But how soone after, Hasten forgot his distresse, and how little he esteemed either his owne troth plighted, or the lives of his children so pledged, it shall appeere when we come to fit place for it: In the meane while I let you know, that the book of Domesday (speaking of Apuldore) laieth it in the hundreth of Blackburne, and describeth it to conteine eight Carves, or Ploughlands.

STONE, *in the Ile of Oxney, called in Saxon* (Stana) *that is, a stone, or (nearer, and as the Northern men yet speake) a Steane.*

990. IN the daies of King Etheldred, when almost all parts of the Realme fealt of the Danishe furie, this place also was by them pitiously spoiled and brent: which done, they departed to Sandwich, and did there as hath already appeered. From thence also they passed to Ipswich in Suffolke, and againe to Maldon in Essex, where they overthrew Bryhtnod, the Alderman (or Earle) of that countrie in battell, and so terrified the people of all these Easterne partes, that they were void of all counsell, either how to resist, or to avoide them. At the length, Siricius the Archbishop of Canterburie persuaded the King (who in that distresse was easily bowed any way) to stop the mouthes of these Danes with a morsell of £10,000. in ready money, and so to take their promise under oath to be quiet from thencefoorth. Which devise of his, how little pollicie it had in it selfe, any wise man may see, and how pernicious it prooved in sequele, the storie of their actes following doth evidently declare. I doe not forget, that there is another towne of this same Name, lying on the contrarie shore of this shire, not farre from Feversham, to the which if any man should bee disposed to carrie this hystorie, I will not contend: Onely I tell him, that the consideration of the streight course of their iourney, mooved me to lay it heere. This lyeth in the Ile of Oxney, which being

Money, first given to the Danes.

about tenne myles in compasse, is environed partly with the Salt water, and partly with the fresh, and hath the name of *Hox* and *ea*, that is, the fowle, or myrie, Iland.

NEWENDENE, *in Saxon,* Nipeldene, *that is, The lowe, or deepe valley:* Leland *calleth it* Noviodunum, *which word is framed out of the Saxon* Nipandune, *and soundeth as much as, The New-hill.*

THE situation of Newendene is such, as it may likely enough take the name, either of the deepe and bottome (as I have coniectured) or of the Hil and high ground, as Leland supposed. For it standeth in the valley, and yet clymeth the hill: so that the termination of the name may be Dene, or Dune, of the valley, or of the hill, indifferently. Howbeit, I would easily yeeld to Leland in this matter (the rather, bicause the common people of that quarter speake much of a faire Towne, that sometime stood upon the hill). Saving that both many places thereaboutes are upon like reason termed Deney, and that Iohn Bale (who had seene an auncient hystorie of the house it selfe) calleth it plainly Newendene.

It is a frontier, and Marchier Towne of this Shyre, by reason that it lieth upon the River that divideth Kent and Sussex in sunder there, which water Leland affirmeth to be the same that our auncient Chronicles call Lymene, though now of the common sort it is knowen by the name of Rother onely. It riseth (saith he) at Argas hill in Sussex, neare to Waterdowne Forrest, and falleth to Rotherfield, thence to Hiching-

The course of the River Lymen, now Rother.

ham, and so to Roberts bridge (corruptly so termed for Rothersbridge) from whence it descendeth to Bodyam Castle, to Newendene, Oxney, and Apultree, and soone after slippeth into the Sea. The place is not notable for any other thing, than that it harboured the first Carmelite Fryars that ever were in this Realme.

1241. The first Carmelites in England. For about the midst of the reigne of King Henrie the Thirde, that order came over the Sea, arrived in this lande, and made their nest at Newendene, which was before a wooddie and solitarie place, and therefore (in common opinion) so much the more fit for Religious persons to inhabite.

They of that profession were called Carmelites, of a hill in Syria, named Carmelus, where at the first a sort of men that lived solitarily, were drawn into companies by one Iohn (the Patriarche of Ierusalem) in the daies of King Henrie the First: And after that, comming into Europe, were by Honorius Quartus, the Pope, appointed to rule and order, by the name of the Brothers of Mary: which title liked themselves so well, that they procured of the Pope (Urbane the sixt) three yeres pardon for all such as would so call them. But certaine merry fellowes, (seeing their vanitie, and knowing how little they were of kin to Mary the blessed Virgine) called them the brothers of Mary Aegiptiaca the harlot, whereat the Pope himselfe was so offended, that he plainly pronounced them Heretikes for their labour.

I read, that in the reigne of King Richard the Second, one William Starnefeld was Pryor of this house, and that he committed to writing the originall and beginning of the same, But hitherto (though to no great losse) it hath not chaunced me to see it.

Master Camden, as in everie other thing, so in this most probablie coniectureth, that the Seate of the old Andres chester was heere, the overthrow whereof you may find in the Weald next following.

THE WEALD, *so named of the Saxon word* pealð, *which signifieth A woodie countrie. The Britons called it* Andred, *of which word the Saxons called it by a second name also* Andredesleag, *in Latine,* Saltus Andred, *the chase of Andred. This latter name was imposed for the exceeding greatnes of it: for* Anrhsed *in Brittish, is as much as great, or woonderfull.*

NOW are wee come to the Weald of Kent, which (after the common opinion of men of our time) is conteined within very streight and narrowe limits, notwithstanding that in times past it was reputed of such exceeding bignesse, that it was thought to extend into Sussex, Surrey, and Hamshire, and of such notable fame withall, that it left the name to that part of the Realme, through which it passed. For it is manifest, by the auncient Saxon Chronicles, by Asserus Meneuensis, Henrie of Huntingdon, and almost all others of latter time, that beginning at Winchelsey in Sussex, it reached in length a hundred and twenty miles toward the West, and stretched thirty miles in breadth toward the North: And it is (in mine opinion) very likely, that in respect of this wood, that large portion of our Islande (which in Cæsars time contented foure severall Kings) was called of the Bryttish

Kent, why so called.

word (Cainc) *Cancia* in Latine, and now comonly Kent: Of which derivation, one other infallible monument remaineth even till this day in Staffordshyre, where they yet call their great woodie Forrest, by the name of (Kanc) also.

At the edge of this wood (in Sussex) at, or neare Newendene, as it is thought, there stood sometime a Citie, called (after the same) Andredes Chester, which Ella (the founder of the Southsaxon kingdome) after that hee had landed with his three sons, and chased the Brytons into the wood, raced, and made equall with the ground: and in this wood, Sigbert, a King of Westsex, was done to death by this occasion following.

755. About the yeere after the Incarnation of Christ seven hundreth fiftie five, this Sigbert succeeded Cuthred his cousine in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, and was so puffed up with the pride of his dominion (mightily enlarged by the prosperous successes of his predecessor) that he governed without feare of God, or care of man, making lust his lawe, and mischiefe his minister: Whereupon one Cumbra (an Earle and Counsellor) at the lamentable suite of the Commons, mooved him to consideration. But Sigbert, disdaining to be directed, commaunded him most despitefully to bee slaine. Heereat the Nobilitie and Commons were so much offended, that assembling for the purpose, they with one assent deprived him of his crowne and dignitie, and he (fearing woorse) fled into the wood, where after a season a poore Hogheard (sometime servant to Cumbra) found him (in a place, which the Saxon histories call Prifetsflode) and knowing him to be the same that had slaine his Master, slue him also without all manner of mercy.

The History of this Hogheard, presenteth to my minde an opinion, that some men mainteine touching this Weald: which is, that it was a great while togither in manner nothing els but a desart, and waste Wildernesse, not planted with Townes, or peopled with men, as the outsides of the shyre were, but stored and stuffed with heards of Deere, and droves of Hogs only. Which conceit, though happily it may seeme to many but a Paradoxe, yet in mine owne fantasie, it wanteth not the feete of sound reason to stand upon. For, besides that a man shall read in the Hystories of Canterburie and Rochester, sundrie donations, in which there is mention onely of Pannage for Hogges in Andred, and of none other thing: I thinke verily, that it cannot be shewed out of auncient Chronicles, that there is remaining in the Weald of Kent, or Sussex, any one monument of great antiquitie. And truly, this thing I my selfe have observed, in the auncient rentals and surviewes of the possessions of Christes Church in Canterburie, that in the rehearsal of the olde rentes and services, due by the Tenaunts dwelling without the Weald, the entrie is commonly after this forme,

The Weald was sometime a wildernesse.

	s.	d.	
De redditu. - - - -	7	6	
De viginti ovis. - -	0	1	
De gallinis, & benerth.	1	4	
Summa -	8	11	*quieti redditus.*

This Benerth, is the service which the tenant doth, with his Carte and Ploughe.

But when they come to the Tenauntes inhabiting within the Wealdy countrie, then the stile and intituling, is first, *Redditus de Walda.*

Then after that followeth, *De tenementis Ioanis at Stile in Loose.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

Without shewing for what auncient service, for what manner of custome, or for what speciall cause, the same Rent grew due and payable, as in the first stile or entrie is expressed.

Whereupon I gather, that although the propertie of the Weald, was at the first belonging to certaine knowen owners, as well as the rest of the countrie: yet was it not then alotted into Tenancies, nor manured like unto the residue. But that even as men were contented to inhabite it, and by peecemeale to rid it of the wood, and to breake it up with the ploughe: So this latter rent (differing from the former, both in quantitie and qualitie, as being greater than the other, and yeelded rather as a recompence for ferme, than as a quiterent for any service) did long after, by little and little, take his beginning.

The bounds of the Weald.

And heereout also springeth the diversitie of opinions, touching the true limits of this Weald: Some men affirming it to begin at one place, and some at another: whereas (in my fantasie) there can be assigned none other certaine boundes thereof, than such as we have before recited out of the auncient Hystories. For, even as in the old time (being then a meere solitude, and on no part inhabited) it might easily be circumscribed: So sinnce (being continually from time to time made lesse by industrie) it could not long have any standing or permanent termes. And therefore, whatsoever difference in common report there be as touching the same, for as much as it is nowe (thanked bee God) in manner wholly replenished with people, a man may more reasonably mainteine, that

there is no Weald at all, than certainly pronounce, either where it beginneth, or maketh an end.

And yet, if question in Lawe should fortune to be mooved, concerning the limits of the Weald (as indeede it may happen, upon the Statute of Woods and otherwise), I am of opinion, that the same ought to be decided by the verdite of twelve men, grounded upon the common reputation of the countrey thereabouts, and not by any other meanes.

But, bicause I wote not, how the naturall and auncient inhabitants of this countrie will beare it, that a young Novesse, and lately adopted Denizen, should thus boldly determine at their disputations, I will heere (for a while) leave the Weald, and go foorth to the residue.

FARLEY, *in Saxon,* ꝑappleȝa, *and may be interpreted, the place of the Boares, or Bulles.*

FARLEY, both the East and West, bordering upon Medwey, belonged sometime to the Monks of Christs church in Canterburie, to whom it yeelded in the daies of King Edward the Confessour, twelve hundreth Eeles for a yeerely rent. This I exemplifie to the end that it may appeere, that their reservations (in auncient time) were as well in victuall, as in money, and that thereof the lands so leased, were called Fermes, of the Saxon word ꝑeoꝛmian, which is, to feed, or yeeld victual. Which Etymologie of the word, although it might suffice to the proofe of that matter: yet to the end, that my coniecture may have the more force, I

Fermes, why so termed.

will adde unto it the authoritie of Gervasius Tilberiensis, a learned man, that flourished in the daies of King Henrie the Seconde, who in his Dialogue of the observations of the Exchequer, hath in effect as followeth.

"Untill the time (saith he) of King Henry the "First, the Kings used not to receive mony of their "lands, but victuals, for the necessarie provision of "their house. And, towardes the paiment of the "souldiors wages, and such like charges, money was "raised out of the Cities and Castles, in the which "husbandrie and tillage was not exercised. But at "the length, when as the King, being in the partes "beyond the Seas, needed ready money towarde the "furniture of his warres, and his subiects and farmers "complained that they were grievously troubled by "carriage of victuals into sundrie partes of the Realme, "farre distant from their dwelling houses; then the "King directed commission to certaine discrete per-"sons, which (having regarde to the value of those "victuals) should reduce them into reasonable summes "of money: The levying of which summes, they "appointed to the Sherife, taking order withall, that "he should pay them at the Scale, or Beame, that is "to say, that he shoulde pay sixe pence over and above "every pound waight of money, bicause they thought, "that the money in time, would wax so much the "woorse for the wearing," &c.

Thus farre Gervasius.

I am not ignorant, that Gervasius himselfe in another place of that Booke, deriveth the woorde (Ferme) from the Latine (*Firma*). Howbeit, for as much as I knowe assuredly, that the terme was used here

amongst the Saxons, before the comming of the Conquerour, and that the Etymon thereof descended from the Saxon language (whereof happily Gervasius, being a Norman, was not much skilfull) I am as bolde to leave his opinion for the derivation, as I was ready to cleave to his report for the Historie.

MAIDSTONE, *contractly for Medweys Towne: in Saxon* Meðpeȝeȝ-tun, *that is, the Towne upon Medwey: it is taken by Master* Camden *to bee that which in* Antoninus, *is called* Vagniacæ, *and in* Nennius, Megwad. *One auncient Saxon booke of the Bridgeworke at* Rochester, *writeth it* Mæȝþan-ȝtane, *that is to say, the mighty (or strong) stone: a name (belike) given for the Quarreys of hard stone round about on everie side of it.*

THE name of this Towne (being framed, as the most part doe thinke, out of the name of the water) might easily move a man to iudge, that it had beene long since the principall towne upon the River whereon it is situate: The rather, for that the Saxons (in imposing the names of their chiefe places) used to borow (for the most part) the names of the waters adioining, as Colchester was so by them called, of the water Colne: Ciceter (or rather Cyrenchester) of the water Cyren, in Latine *Corinius*: Donchaster of the river of Don: Lyncolne of Lindis: and (to come to our own Shyre) Eilesford of Eile, Dartford of Darent, Crayford of Cray, and such other.

Townes named of the Rivers.

Howbeit, for as much as I finde not this place, above once named in any auncient historie, and but

seldome mentioned in any Recordes that I have seene, I dare not pronounce any great antiquitie of it, but speake chiefly of that which it hath gotten within the compasse of later memorie.

In the Parleament, holden the xi. yeere of King Henry the Seventh, the custodie of the weights and measures (then renewed according to the Kings standarde) was committed to this towne, as to a place most commodiously situate to serve the turne of the whole shyre in that behalfe: And in the time of King Edwarde the Sixth, the towne, which before times had been governed by a Portreve, was newly incorporated and endowed with sundrie liberties, all which soone after it forfeited by ioyning in a rebellion mooved within this Shire, under the reigne of Queene Marie. Neverthelesse, of late time the Queenes Maiestie (that nowe is) of hir great clemencie, hath not onely restored the place to a new incorporation, but endowed it also with greater Privilege, apparelling the Maior with the authoritie of a Iustice of the Peace, exempting the Townesmen from forreine Sessions, and creating the Towne it selfe a Boroughe, enabled to have voice in Parleament.

The College.

In it were foure principall ornamentes of building, the College, the Bishops Palace, the house of the Brothers of *Corpus Christi*, and the Bridge: of which the first, was built by Boniface (the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Uncle to Eleonor, the wife of King Henric the Third) to the honour of Peter, Paule, and
1260. Saint Thomas (the Martyr, as they would have it) and endowed with great possessions, by the name of an Hospitall. This had not stoode fully one hundreth and fortie yeeres, but that William Courtney (a suc-

cessour in that See, and a Noble man, as the other was) pulled it downe, and erecting a new after his owne pleasure, gained thereby the name of a founder, and called it, a College of Secular Priestes. 1395.

The Palace. The Palace, that yet standeth, was begunne by Iohn Ufford, the Archbishop, but for as much as hee died before he had brought the worke to the midst, Simon Islepe (the next in succession saving one) took this matter in hand, and not onely pulled downe a house of the Bishops which had long before stoode at Wrotham, but also charged his whole Province with a tenth to accomplish it.

1359. The Schoole. I finde in a Recorde, that Thomas Arundell (another Bishop of the same See) founded a Chanterie at Maidstone, which whether it be the same, that was sometime called the house of the Brothers, and but lately converted by the Townesmen into a Free schoole, or no, I will not boldly affirme, but I thinke it rather so, than otherwise.

Of the Bridge I finde no beginning, but I suspect that it rose by the Archbishops, which were not onely owners of the Palace (hard by, as you see) but Lords and Patrones of the whole Towne and Church also. Neither is it unlikely that it received helpe of Archbishop Courtney, of whom it is recorded that he builded at Maidstone somewhat besides the College.

The River of Medway, and whereof it tooke the name. And thus much onely of the Towne: As touching the River of Medwey, it seemeth to have been so named, either bicause it stoode in the middle of the Kentish kingdome, or else for that it ran midde betweene the two Bishopricks: For the woorde (Miðpeȝ) signifieth nothing else, but the Midway, as (Middeȝ) doth noone, or Midday: unlesse happily some man

would rather have it called (Meðpœg) bicause of the fruitful medowe that it maketh all along the course of the same.

This River is principally increased by four Brookes that runne into it: whereof (to begin at the West) the first springeth about Croherst in Surrey, not farre from the head of Darent: thence it slideth to Etonbridge, and taking in the way Hever, Penshyrste, and Tunbridge, ioineth with the seconde at Twyforde in Yealding.

The seconde ariseth in Waterdowne forrest at Frant in Sussex (the verie place is called Hockenbury panne) not much more than one mile from Eredge house: thence commeth it down to Beyham, to Lamberhyrst streete, and to a place in Scotney ground called Litle Sussex, where it meeteth with the borne Beaul (which nameth Beaulbridge) and with Theise, which breaketh out of the ground at Tysehyrst named of it: so ioine they in iourney to Horsmonden, and make the Twyst (or two streames) of the which the one ioineth with the first head of Medway at Twiford, and the other closeth with the third brooke of Medwey a little from Stylebridge, and they all concurre at Yealding.

The third Brooke taketh beginning about Goldwel in great Charte, and descendeth to Hedcorne and Stylebridge, being crossed in the way by seven other sundry bridges.

The fourth and last principall Brooke, issueth at Bygon hoath in Leneham, washeth the walles of Leedes castle, a litle from thence it receiveth the small boorne of Holingboorne, and then that of Thurnham, and in their companie laboureth to Maidstone.

And at this towne, the name of Medway deservedly

beginneth, as well bicause the towne is named of it, as also for that it hath there receaved all the helpes of the other streames, and is very neare to the midst of the Shyre (which it diversly divideth) in regard, either of the length, or breadth thereof.

Divers other smal pipes of water there be, that doe minister secondarie helpes to this Navigable River, some out of Sussex, and others out of our own Shyre, all which I may the better passe over with silence, bicause they may with more pleasure bee seene in the Charde, than read heere.

For my good friend, Master Philip Simonson of Rochester, hath lately published some parte of his labour in describing our shyre of Kent, whereby not onely the Townes and Hundreds, with the hilles and houses of men of woorthe, are more truely seated: but also the Seacoastes, Rivers, Creekes, Waterings, and Rilles, be more exactly shadowed and traced, than heeretofore, in this, or any other of our lande (that I know) hath beene performed. Besides the which he hath observed sundry other things very serviceable, though not meete to be made commune. Onely I will lay downe, two, or three woordes, concerning one of the succours to Medway, and then passe to Pickenden. Master Simonsons Map of Kent newly made.

There ariseth, neare to the Parke and Hothe of Langley, a small spring, which at Brishyng (about one mile off) falleth into the ground, and hideth itselfe, being conveighed under the earth neare to Cocks hothe, by the space of halfe a mile, and then at a great Pitte of the Quarrey, discovereth it selfe againe, and runneth above grounde to Loose (I wot not, whether so called of this Losse) betweene which place, and the mouth thereof (which powreth into Medway at Tovelle, Loose.

betweene Maidstone and Eastfarley, and exeeedeth not two miles in lengthe) it beareth thirteene Fulling Milles and one for Corne, which are reputed to earne so many hundreds of pounds by the yeere. This thing I was the rather occasioned to note, by viewing the course of this water in that Mappe, where you may see it broken off, as if it were crossed with a bridge of land, and that purposely, to shew the secretes of this Chanell.

PICCENDENE HOTHE, *commonly, but aunciently written* Pinenden, *of* Pinian, *to punish: and so it soundeth the place of Execution, or punishment.*

The name of Harlot, whereof it began.

ROBERT, the Duke of Normandie, had issue by a Concubine (whose name, as the Annales of Saint Augustines reporte, was Harlothe, and after whom, as I coniecture, such incontinent women have ever since beene called Harlots) three Sonnes, that is to say, William that afterward subdued this Realme, Robert, that was created Earle of Moreton; and Odo that was first consecrated Bishop of Baieux, then Earle of Kent, and lastly Lieutenant (or Vicegerent) of this whole Realme, under William his Brother.

Odo, the Earle of Kent.

Robert, was reputed a man of small courage, wisedome, or learning, and therefore passed his time ingloriously: But Odo, was founde to be of nature so busie, greedie, and ambitious, that he mooved many Tragedies within this Realme, and was in the end throwen from the Stage, and driven into Normandie, as heereafter in fit place shall be more amplie declared.

In the meane while, for this present place, and purpose, I finde, that during his aboade in Kent, he had so incroched upon the lands and Priviledges of the Archbishopricke of Canterburie, and Bishoprick of Rochester, that Lanfranc (being pormoted to that See of dignitie, and finding the want) complained to the King, and obteined, that with his good pleasure they might make triall of their right with him. To the which end also, the same King gave commission to Goisfrid (then Bishop of Constance in Normandie) to represent his owne person, for hearing of the controversie: caused Egelric the Bishop of Chichester (an aged man, singularly commended for skill in the Lawes, and Customes of the Realme) to be brought thether in a Wagon, for his assistance in Counsell: commaunded Haymo (the Sheriffe of Kent) to summon the whole Countie to give in evidence: and charged Odo his brother to be present, at such time and place, as should be notified unto him.

The auncient maner of the triali of right.

Pinnendene Heath (lying almost in the midst of the Shyre, and therefore very indifferent for the assemblie of the whole Countie) was the appointed place, and thereunto not onely the whole number of the most expert men of this shire, but of sundrie other Countries also, came in great frequencie, and spent three whole daies in debate of these Bishops controversies: concluding in the end, that Lanfranc, and the Bishop of Rochester, should be restored to the possession of Detling, Stocc, Preston, Danitune, and sundrie other landes, that Odo had withholden: And that neither the Earle of Kent, nor the King himself, had right to claime any thing in any the landes of the Archbishop, saving onely these three customes, which concerne the

kings high waies that lead from one citie to another: that is to say: "That if any of the Archbishops te- "naunts should dig in such a high waie, or fell a tree "crosse the same, to the hinderaunce of common pas- "sage, and to be taken with the maner, or convinced "thereof by Lawe, he should make amendes to the "King therefore:

"And likewise when he did committe bloudshead, "manslaughter, ar any other criminall offence, in such "wise that hee were deprehended dooing the fault, "that the amendes thereof belonged to the King also: "but in this latter case, if hee were not taken with "the manner, but departed without pledge taken of "him, that then the triall and the amends perteined "to the Archbishop himselfe, and that the King had "not to meddle therewith.

On the other side also they agreed, that the Archbishop had many Privileges throughout all the lands of the King, and of the Earle: as namely, the amerciament of bloudshead from such time as they ceasse to say Alleluia in the Church service, till the Octaves of Easter, the which how long it is, let them see that can turne the Pie and the Portuse: and at the least the one halfe of everie amerciament, due for the unlawfull begetting of children, commonly called Cylðpite 7 which last thing, I doe the rather note, to the ende that it may appeere, that in those daies the Bishops had not wholy gotten into their handes, the correction of adulterie and fornication, which of latter times they have chalenged from the Laitie, with such pertinacie and stifnesse, and have punished (both in the Laitie, and clergie) with such lenitie, that not onely the Princes commoditie is thereby greatly decreased, but

The Cleargie have incroched upon the Prince, in the punishment of adulterie.

also incontinencie in his subiects intolerably augmented.

Neither is it to be prooved by this testimonie onely, that such was the order in old time, but by the booke of Domesday it self also, where it is plainly said, *De adulterio, Rex habebit hominem, Archiepiscopus mulierem.* In case of adulterie, the King shall have the man, and the Archbishop the woman, &c.

But to returne to Pinnendene: the commoditie of the situation it selfe, and the example of this notable assemblie, have beene the cause, that not only the Sheriffes use to holde their County Courts, but also to appointe the meeting for choise of Knights of the Parleament, most commonly at this place.

Boxley, *may take the name either of the Saxon* (Boxeleaȝe) *for the store of Boxtrees that paradventure sometime grew there: or of* (Bucepleaȝ) *which is as much to say, as a place lying in* Umbilico, *in the midst, or Navell of the Shyre, as indeede this* Boxley *somwhat neerely dothe.*

AS touching the foundation of Boxley Abbay, I finde an obscure note in ancient Chronicles of Saint Wereburges in Chester, where it is thus reported: *Anno,* 1146. *fundata est Boxleia in Cancia, filia Clarevallis propria.* In the yeere, 1146, was founded Boxley in Kent, the verie daughter of Clarevalle. Which I call obscure, bicause it appeereth not to me by the word *(filia)* whether it be ment, that Boxley were erected by the liberalitie of the Monasterie of

Abbaies doe beget one another. 1146.

Clarevelle, or else instituted onely after the profession, rule, and order of the same. For the like notes I finde in the same Chronicle of divers other houses within England, to which the same Monasterie of Clarevale (and others also) were like good mothers: and (amongst the rest) that not many yeeres after, this Monasterie of Boxley it selfe was delivered of such another spirituall childe, called the Abbay of Roberts-
1172. bridge in Sussex.

Neverthelesse, I make coniecture, that the authour ment by *(filia)* daughter, nothing else, but that one Abbay either furthered by exhortation the building of another, or else furnished it after the building with Monkes of her owne brood. And for more likelyhood that this should be his minde, heare, (I pray you) what
1242. he saith in another place, *Comes Cornubiæ fundavit Hayles, filiam Belliloci in Anglia.* The Earle of Cornwall founded Hayles, the daughter of Beaulieu in England, which his words, distinguishe plainely betweene the founder that beare the charge of the building, and the Abbay, after the order and patterne whereof it was instituted.

But leaving to comment any longer upon that doubtfull texte, I will take to witnesse the Chronicles of Rochester, which (putting the matter out of doubt) saie plainely, that one William de Ipre (a noble man, and Lieutenant to King Stephan in his wars against Maude the Empresse) founded the Abbay of Boxley,
1144. and planted it with a Covent of white Monkes. And so have you at once, the name of the Authour, the time of the foundation, and the rule of the profession, at Boxley: whereunto if you shal adde the yeerely value (which I reade in the Recorde to have beene

two hundreth and foure poundes) you have all that I finde written concerning the same.

But now if I shoulde thus leave Boxley, the favourers of false and feyned Religion would laugh in their sleeves, and the followers of Gods trueth might iustly cry out and blame me.

For, it is yet freshe in minde to bothe sides, and shall (I doubt not) to the profite of the one, be continued in perpetuall memorie to all posteritie, by what notable imposture, fraud, Iuggling, and Legierdemain, the sillie lambes of Gods flocke were (not long since) seduced by the false Romish Foxes at this Abbay. The manner whereof, I will set downe, in such sorte onely, as the same was sometime by themselves published in print for their estimation and credite, and yet remaineth deepely imprinted in the mindes and memories of many on live, and to their everlasting reproche, shame, and confusion.

The ungratious Roode of Grace.

It chaunced (as the tale is) that upon a time, a cunning Carpenter of our countrie was taken prisoner in the warres betweene us and Fraunce, who (wanting otherwise to satisfie for his raunsome, and having good leysure to devise for his deliveraunce) thought it best to attempt some curious enterprise, within the compasse of his owne Art and skill, to make himselfe some money withall: And therefore, getting togither fit matter for his purpose, he compacted of wood, wyer, paste and paper, a Roode of such exquisite arte and excellencie, that it not onely matched in comelynesse and due proportion of the partes the best of the common sort: but in straunge motion, variety of gesture, and nimblenes of ioints, passed al other that before had been seene: the same being able to

bow down and lifte up it selfe, to shake and stirre the handes and feete, to nod the head, to rolle the eies, to wag the chaps, to bende the browes, and finally to represent to the eie, both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a lively, expresse, and significant shew of a well contented or displeased minde: byting the lippe, and gathering a frowning, froward, and disdainful face, when it would pretend offence: and shewing a most milde, amyable, and smyling cheere and countenaunce, when it woulde seeme to be well pleased.

So that now it needed not Prometheus fire to make it a lively man, but onely the helpe of the covetous Priestes of Bell, or the aide of some craftie College of Monkes, to deifie and make it passe for a verie God.

This done, he made shifte for his libertie, came over into the Realme, of purpose to utter his merchandize, and laide the Image upon the backe of a Iade that he drave before him. Now, when hee was come so farre as to Rochester on his way, hee waxed drie by reason of travaile, and called at an alehouse for drinke to refreshe him, suffering his horse nevertheless to go forwarde alone along the Citie.

This Iade was no sooner out of sight, but hee missed the streight westerne way that his Maister intended to have gone, and turning Southe, made a great pace toward Boxley, and being driven (as it were) by some divine furie, never ceassed iogging till he came at the Abbay church doore, where he so beat and bounced with his heeles, that divers of the Monkes heard the noise, came to the place to knowe the cause, and (marvelling at the straungenesse of the thing) called the Abbat and his Covent to beholde it.

These good men seeing the horse so earnest, and discerning what he had on his backe, for doubt of deadly impietie opened the doore: which they had no sooner done, but the horse rushed in, and ran in great haste to a piller (which was the verie place where this Image was afterwarde advaunced) and there stopped himselfe, and stoode still.

Now while the Monkes were busie to take off the lode, in commeth the Carpenter (that by great inquisition had followed) and he challenged his owne: the Monkes, loth to loose so beneficiall a stray, at the first made some deniall, but afterward, being assured by all signes that he was the verie Proprietarie, they graunt him to take it with him.

The Carpenter then taketh the horse by the head, and first assayeth to leade him out of the Church, but he would not stirre for him: Then beateth hee and striketh him, but the Iade was so restie and fast nailed, that he woulde not once remoove his foote from the piller: at the last he taketh off the Image, thinking to have carried it out by it selfe, and then to have led the horse after: but that also cleaved so fast to the place, that notwithstanding all that ever he (and the Monks also, which at the length were contented for pities sake to helpe him) coulde doe, it would not be mooved one inche from it: So that in the ende, partly of wearinesse in wrestling, and partly by persuasion of the Monkes, which were in love with the Picture, and made him beleeve that it was by God himselfe destinate to their house, the Carpenter was contented for a peece of money to go his way, and leave the Roode behinde him. Thus you see the generation of this the great God of Boxley, comparable (I warrant you) to

the creation of that beastly Idoll Priapus, of which the Poet saith,

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Cum faber incertus SCAMNUM FACERETNE PRIAPUM,
MALUIT ESSE DEUM: *Deus inde ego furum, &c.*

A Figtree blocke sometime I was,
A log unmeete for use:
Till Carver doubting with himselfe,
WERT BEST MAKE PRIAPUS,
OR ELSE A BENCHE? resolvd at last
To make a God of mee:
Thencefoorth a God I am, of birdes
And theeves most drad, you see.

But what? I shall not neede to reporte, howe lewdly these Monkes, to their own enriching and the spoile of Gods people, abused this wooden God after they had thus gotten him, bicause a good sort be yet on live that sawe the fraude openly detected at Paules Crosse, and others may reade it disclosed in bookes extant, and commonly abroad. Neither will I labour to compare it throughout with the *Troian Palladium,* which was a picture of wood that could shake a speare, and rolle the eies as lively as this Roode did: and which falling from heaven, chose it selfe a place in the Temple, as wisely as this Carpenters horse did: and had otherwise so great couvenience and agreement with this our Image, that a man would easily beleeve the device had beene taken from thence: But I will onely note, for my purpose, and the places sake, that even as they fansied that Troy was upholden by that

Image, and that the taking of it awaye by Diomedes and Ulysses, brought destruction (by sentence of the Oracle) upon their City: So the town of Boxley (which stoode chiefly by the Abbay) was through the discoverie and defacing of this Idoll, and another (wrought by Cranmer and Cromwell) according to the iust iudgement of God, hastened to utter decay and beggerie.

S. Rumwald, & his miracles.

And now, since I am falne into mention of that other Image which was honoured at this place, I will not sticke to bestowe a fewe wordes for the detection thereof also, as wel for that it was as very an illusion as the former, as also for that the use of them was so linked togither, that the one cannot throughly be understood without the other: for this was the order.

If you minded to have benefit by the Roode of Grace, you ought first to bee shriven of one of the Monkes: Then by lifting at this other Image (which was untruly of the common sort called S. Grumbald, for Sainct Rumwald) you shoulde make proofe whether you were in cleane life (as they called it) or no: and if you so found your selfe, then was your way prepared, and your offering acceptable before the Roode: if not, then it behoved you to be confessed of newe, for it was to be thought that you had concealed somwhat from your ghostly Dad, and therefore not yet woorthie to be admitted *Ad Sacra Eleusina.*

For none might enter into the Temple of Ceres in Eleusis, but such as were innocent.

Now, that you may knowe, how this examination was to be made, you must understande, that this Sainct Rumwald was the picture of a pretie Boy Sainct of stone, standing in the same churche, of it selfe short, and not seeming to be heavie: but for as much as it was wrought out of a great and weightie

stone (being the base thereof) it was hardly to be lifted by the handes of the strongest man. Nevertheless (such was the conveighance) by the helpe of an engine fixed to the backe thereof, it was easily prised up with the foote of him that was the keeper; and therefore, of no moment at all in the handes of such as had offered frankly: and contrariwise, by the meane of a pinne, running into a post (which that religious impostor standing out of sight, could put in, and pull out, at his pleasure) it was, to such as offered faintly, so fast and unmoveable, that no force of hande might once stirre it. In so much, as many times it mooved more laughter than devotion, to beholde a great lubber to lift at that in vaine, which a young boy (or wench) had easily taken up before him.

I omit, that chaste Virgins, and honest married matrones, went oftentimes away with blushing faces, leaving (without cause) in the mindes of the lookers on, great suspicion of uncleane life, and wanton behaviour: for feare of whiche note and villainie, women (of all other) stretched their purse strings, and sought by liberall offering to make S. Rumwalds man their good friend and favourer.

But marke heere (I beseech you) their policie in picking plaine mens purses. It was in vaine (as they persuaded) to presume to the Roode without shrifte: yea, and money lost there also, if you offered before you were in cleane life: And therefore, the matter was so handled, that without treble oblation (that is to say) first to the Confessour, then to Sainct Rumwald, and lastly to the Gracious Roode, the poore Pilgrimes could not assure themselves of any good, gained by all their labour. No more than such as goe to Paris-

gardein, the Bell Savage, or Theatre, to beholde Beare baiting, Enterludes, or Fence play, can account of any pleasant spectacle, unlesse they first pay one pennie at the gate, another at the entrie of the Scaffolde, and the thirde for a quiet standing.

I my self cannot coniecture, what reason should move them, to make this S. Rumwald the Touchstone of cleane life and innocencie, unlesse it be upon occasion of a myracle that he did, in making two holy Priestes to lift a great stone easily, which before divers Lay persons could not stirre with all their strength and abilitie: Which thing (as also his whole life and death) to the ende that the tale shall want no part of due credite, I will shortly recite, as in the woorke called *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, Iohn Capgrave hath reported.

A Pagan (or unchristened) King of Northumberland, had married a Christian woman, daughter to Penda, the King of Middle Englande, who would not (by any meanes) be knowen carnally of hir husband, till such time as he had condescended to forsake Idolatrie, and to become a Christian with hir. The husband (with much to doe) consented to the condition, and she not long after waxed great with childe, and as (upon a time) they were riding toward their Father King Penda, shee fell into the travaile of childe birthe, and was delivered by the way (in a faire medowe at Sutton) of a man childe, which so soone as he was come out of his mothers belly, cried with a lowd voice, three severall times, *Christianus sum, Christianus sum, Christianus sum.* I am a Christian, I am a Christian, I am a Christian. And not ceassing thus, made foorthwith plaine profession of his faith, desired to be baptised, chose his Godfathers, named himselfe

626. The nativitie of S. Rumwald.

Rumwald, and with his finger directed the standers by to fetch him a great hollow stone that hee would have to be used for the Fonte.

Heereupon sundry of the Kings servants assaied to have brought the stone, but it was so farre above all their strengthes that they could not once move it: when the Childe perceaved that, he commaunded the two Priestes (his appointed Godfathers) to goe and bring it, which they did foorthwith most easily. This done, he was baptised, and within three days after (having in the meane while discoursed cunningly sundry mysteries of Popish religion, and bequeathing his bodie to remaine at Sutton one yeere, at Brackley two, and at Buckingham for ever after) his Spirit departed out of his bodie, and was by the hands of the Aungels conveied into heaven.

I have moreover in my keeping, an auncient Deede, under the Seale of Armes of a Noble Norman, which if I shoulde give in evidence against these Monks of Boxeley, you would not take them to be so white within, as their outward Robe pretended, but would rather note them, with *Hic niger est*, or take them to be wholy compounded, *ex fraude & fallaciis, ab imis unguibus ad verticem summum:* of fraude and deceipt, from the sole of the foote to the crowne of the heade. *Et ideo* (as Cicero said of Fannius) *semper esse capitibus rasis, ne pilum unum boni viri habere videantur:* and that therefore they did weare shaven crownes, that they might seeme not to have so much as one haire left of an honest man. But since it perteineth to the place, and conteineth, a feate discoverie of one of their fraudes, you shall heare the very tenor of it.

" *Omnibus Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis, Hugo* " *Candavena, Comes Sancti Pauli, Salutem: Univer-*

" *sitati vestræ notum facio, quod Ballini mei (quos*
" *habeo in Anglia) habentes Warrantizam brevis*
" *mei cum sigillo meo dependente, ut quicquid de tene-*
" *mentis meis facerent, ita stabile foret ac si ego ipse*
" *fecissem, fecerunt quandam rationabilem vendi-*
" *tionem (sicut eis mandavi litteris nostris) de quo-*
" *dam Essarto meo iuxta* Tarentforde, *Canonicis de*
" Lyesnes, *& in Arram centum solidos receperunt,*
" *datis fideiussoribus & fide interposita ex parte mea,*
" *quòd pactio illa stabilis permaneret. Post hanc*
" *autem conventionem sic factam, occultè veniunt ad*
" *me in partes transmarinas Monachi* Boxeley, *prius-*
" *quam scirem quid egissent Ballivi mei, & conveniunt*
" *me super emptione eiusdem Essarti, supprimentes*
" *mihi veritatem rei gestæ & pactionis firmatæ cum*
" *Conventu de* Lyesnes. *Corruperunt etiam muneri-*
" *bus & blanditiis Nuntium quendam, qui missus à*
" *Ballivis meis mihi veritatem indicare deberat. Cum*
" *igitur ignorarem versutius illorum, feci pactionem*
" *cum illis de prædicta venditione: Sed agnita post-*
" *modum veritate, & intercepta eorum astutia, retinui*
" *cartas meas quas volebant fraudulenter asportare*
" *priusquam eas vidissem, vel audissem. Eapropter*
" *cassato deceptionis eorum conatu, concilio Curiæ*
" *meæ & multorum virorum prudentium confirmavi*
" *Carta mea primam conventionem factam Canonicis*
" *de* Lyesnes *per warrantizam brevis mei. Quare*
" *volo, ut ipsa conventio stabilis & inconcussa perma-*
" *neat, roborata confirmatione Domini mei Regis*
" *Angliæ, qui terram illam mihi dedit: Ne Monachi*
" Boxeley *eos in aliquo super hoc vexare possint.*
" *Nullatenus enim audiendi sunt, cum nullo modo ius*
" *aliquod in prædicta terra vendicare iuste possint:*
" *Valete.*"

An Essart is land ridd of the wood: and this piece is noted on the backe of this writing to be called Hocholt.

In English, thus.

To all the children of holy Mother Church, Hugh Canden, Earle of Sainct Paule, Greeting: I make it knowen to you all, that my Bailifes (which I have in Englande) having warrant by my Writte under my Seale, that whatsoever they should doe concerning my landes, should be as availeable as if I my selfe had done it, did make a certeine reasonable sale (as I had commaunded them by my letters) of a certeine Assart of mine neare Dartforde, to the chanons of Lyesnes, and receaved C. shillings in earnest, gyving securitie and promise on my behalfe, that the bargaine should be of force. But after this agreement so made, there came to me privily to the partes beyonde the Sea the Monkes of Boxley, before that I knewe what my Bailifes had done, and they communed with mee about the buying of the same Assart, suppressing from mee the trueth of the thing done and of the bargaine assured to the Chanons of Lyesnes. They also corrupted with rewardes and flattering wordes a certeine Messenger, whome my Bailifes had sent to tell mee the trueth. I therefore, being ignorant of their craft, passed a bargaine unto them of the same thing formerly sold: But afterward knowing the trueth, and meeting with their fraude, I withheld my Writings thereof, which they guilefully would have caried away, before that I had either seene or heard them. Therefore (having frustrated their deceiptfull endevour) by the advise of my Court, and of many Wise men, I have confirmed by my Chartre that first agreement made to the chanons of Lyesnes by the warrant of my Writte. Wherfore I will, that the same bargaine remaine in force and unshaken, being strength-

cned by the confirmation of my Lorde the King of Englande (who gave me that lande) that the Monkes of Boxeley may not bee able in any thing concerning this to unquiet them. For, they are in no sorte to be hearde, seeing that by no means they may iustly claime any manner of right in that lande. Fare yee well.

MYLTON, *in Saxon* Miðletun, *so called of the situation, for it lieth in the midst betweene two places, the termination of whose names be in* tun *also, that is to say,* Newentun *and* Marstun.

EVEN at such time as King Alfred divided this Shyre into Lathes and Hundrethes, the town of Midleton, or Milton (as we now call it, by our common maner of contraction) was in his owne hands, and is therefore set foorth in our auncient Histories by the name and title of *Regia Villa de Midleton:* The Kings towne of Midleton. In which respect (of like) he gave to the hundreth, the name of the same Towne, as of a place more eminent than any other within that precincte. Kemsley Downe in the Parish of this Midleton, is the verie place where in the time and reigne of the same King Alfred, Hasten the Dane that so much annoied Fraunce) arrived and fortified, as we have at full disclosed in Apledore before. 893. Kemsley Downe.

This Towne continued of good estimation untill the reigne of King Edwarde the Confessour, in whose daies, and during the displeasure betweene him and Earle Godwine, such as were of the devotion of the 1052.

Earle at home, burned the Kings house at Midleton, while he and his sonnes abroade ransacked, herried, and spoiled, the skirts, and outsides of the whole shyre besides: after which time, I have not read, neither is it likely, that the place was of any estimation, or price at all, more than for the Market only.

The hystorie of Ely taketh it to be called Midleton, bicause it standeth in the Midst of Kent, and telleth us that Sexburga (the Queene, and foundresse of Mynster in Shepy) left hir life at the doore of Mylton church.

It seemeth to me, that Mylton was not aunciently within the charge of the Shyrife of the Shire: bicause I find in a Note out of a Recorde (48 H. 3.) by which he graunted to Fulc Payferer the custodie of the Countie, togither with the Hundred of Mylton.

SEDINGBOURNE, *in Saxon* ðæɪunʒbuɒna ; *that is, the Hamlet along the Bourne or small River. One there is that interpreteth it, as if it were* Seething-bourne, Riuus feruens aut bulliens, *but how likely, let others see.*

FOR want of pertinent matter, touching either the beginning, increase, or present estate of this place, I am driven to furnishe the roome with an impertinent Sermon,
1231. that a Mytred Father of Rochester long since bestowed upon his auditorie there. In the time of King Henrie the thirde, and after the death of Richard, the Archbishop of Canterbury (surnamed the great). The Monkes of Christs Church were determined to have chosen for their Archbishop, one Ralfe Noville the

Bishop of Chichester, and Chancellour to the King: but Gregorie the Pope, fearing that Ralfe would have travailed earnestly for release of the tribute, which his Innocent predecessour had gained by King Iohns submission (for the storie saith, that Noville was a good man, and true harted to his Countrie) bare the Monks in hand, that hee was rashe in word, and presumptious in acte, and therefore much unwoorthie of such a dignitie: Neverthelesse, bicause he would not seeme utterly to infringe the libertie of their election, he gave them free licence to take any other man besides him. Whereupon, the Monks agreed, and chose one Iohn, the Pryor of their owne house.

The Popish manner of preaching.

Now, when this man should go to Rome (as the manner was) for to buie his confirmation, Henrie, (then Bishop of Rochester) addressed himselfe to accompanie him to his ship, and when they were come to this towne, the Bishop of Rochester stept into the Pulpit, like a pretie man, and gave the Auditorie a clerkly collation, and Preachement, in the which (after many other things) he braste forth into great ioy, (as a man that had beene rapt into the third Heaven) and said. Reioice in the Lorde (my brethren all) and knowe ye assuredly, that now of late in one day, there departed out of purgatorie, Richard (sometime King of England) Stephan Langton (the Archbishop of Canterburie) and a Chaplein of his, to go to the divine Maiestie. And in that day, there issued no moe, but these three, out of the place of paines: and feare not to give full and assured faith to these my words, for this thing hath beene now the third time revealed unto me, and to another man, and that so plainely, as from mine owne minde all suspicion of doubt is far remooved.

These few words, I have in manner translated out of Thomas Rudburne, and Mathew of Westminster, to the ende that you might see, with what wholesome and comfortable bread, the preaching Prelats of that time fed their Auditories, and that you might heereby consider, that, *Si lux sit tenebræ.* If the Bishops, the great torches of that time, were thus dimme, *Ipsæ tenebræ quantæ?* What light was to be looked for at the little candels, the soule Priestes, and seely Syr Iohns? Beleeve me, if his Fatherhood had not plainely confessed, that he came to the knowledge of this matter by revelation, I would easily have beleeved that he had been with Anchises in Hell, as Aeneas sometime was, where he learned, what soules should come next to life, and where he heard the liveliest description of the Poeticall, or Popish Purgatorie (for all is one) that is any where to be founde: Which to the ende that you may see what agreement there is betweene the olde and the new Romanes, touching this article of religion, I will shew it you in a fewe of Virgils owne verses.

Popish Purgatorie is derived out of Poetrie.

Lucianus, in luctu, tria habet mortuorum genera, id quod ille cum papanis nostris commune est.

Lib. 6. Enead.

Quin & supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes, penitusq necesse est
Multa diu concreta, modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumq malorum
Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni:
Quisq suos patimur manes: Exinde per amplum
Mittimur Elysium, & pauci læta arva tenemus:
Donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
Concretam exemit labem, purumq reliquit
Aetherium sensum, atq aurai simplicis ignem.

Which Thomas Phaer translated after this manner.

Moreover, when their ende of life,
and light doth them forsake,
Yet can they not their sinnes, nor so-
rowes all (poore soules) of shake,
Nor all contagions fleshly from
them voides, but must of neede
Much things congendred long, by won-
derous meanes at last out spread:
Therefore they plagued beene, and for
their former faults and sinnes,
Their sundrie paines they bide: some high
in aire do hang on pinnes,
Some fleeting beene in floodes, and deepe
in gulfes themselves they tyer,
Till sinnes away be washt, or clen-
sed cleane with purging fyer.
Eche one of us our pænance heere
abide, that sent we bee
To Paradise at last: we few
these fields of ioy do see.
Till compasse long of time, by per-
fect course hath purged quite,
Our former cloddred spots, and pure
hath left our Ghostly Sprite,
And senses pure of soule, and sim-
ple sparks of heavenly light.

Nowe therefore, if this Bishops Poetrie may be allowed for divinitie, me thinketh that with great reason I may intreate, that not onely this worke of Virgils Aeneides, but Homers Iliades, Ovides Fastes, and Lucians Dialogues also, may be made Canonicall: for these all excell in such kinde of fiction. Since

my first acquaintance with Sittingborne, it hath pleased hir Maiestie to bestow a Maior and Corporation upon the place.

TONG CASTLE, *or rather* Thong Castle, *in Saxon* þpanceaſtre, *in Bryttish* Kaerkerry, *of* (Thwang *and* Karry) *both which wordes doe signifie, a Thong of Leather.*

THE Brittish Chronicle, discoursing the invitation, arrivall, and interteinment of Hengist and Horsa (the Saxon captaines) mentioneth, that among other devises (practised for their own establishment and securitie) they begged of King Vortiger so muche land to fortifie upon, as the hyde of a beast (cut into thongs) might incompasse, and that therof the place should be called Thongcaster, or Thwangcaster: after such a like maner, as Dido (long since beguiling Hiarbas, the King of Lybia) builded the Castle Byrsa, conteining twenty and two furlongs in circuit, of which Virgil spake, saying:

Mercatiq solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
Taurino possint quantum circundare tergo, &c.
They bought the soile, and Byrsa it cald,
when first they did begin,
As much as with a Bull hide cut,
they could inclose within.

Doncaster in the North Countrie.

But Saxo Grammaticus applieth this Act to the time of the Danes, affirming that one Iuarus (a Dane) obteined by this kind of policie, at the hands of Ethelred the Brother of Alfred, to builde a fort.

And as these men agree not upon the builder, so is there variance betweene written storie, and common speech, touching the true place of that building: for it should seeme by Galfrid, Hector Boetius, and Ric. Cirencester, that it was at Doncaster in the North Countrie, bicause they lay it in Lindsey, which nowe is extended no further than to the North part of Lincolneshire. But common opinion (conceived upon report, received of the elders by tradition) chalengeth it to Tong Castle in this Shyre: Whereunto if a man doe adde, that both the first planting, and the chiefe abiding, of Hengist and Horsa was in Kent, and adioyne thereto also the authoritie of Mathew of Westminster, which writeth plainely, that Aurelius Ambrose the captaine of the Britons provoked Hengist to battaile at Tong in Kent, he shall have cause, neither to falsifie the one opinion lightly, nor to faith the other unadvisedly.

And as for mine owne opinion of Doncaster (which is now taken to be the same that Ptolome calleth Camulodunum) I thinke verily, that it was named of the water Done whereon it standeth, and not of Thong, as some faine it. Which derivation, whether it be not lesse violent, (and yet no lesse reasonable), than the other, I dare referre to any reasonable and indifferent Reader. To this place therefore, of right belongeth the storie of King Vortigers Wassailing, which I have already exemplified in the generall discourse of the auncient estate of this Countrie, and for that cause doe thinke it more meete to referre you thither, than heere to repeate it. For an end therefore I tel you, that the ditch and ruines of this olde Castle do yet appeere at Tong Mill, within one quarter of a mile of

the parish Church there, and about so much Northward from the highway between London and Canterbury: where you may see the water drayned from the Castle ditch, to serve the corn Mill.

TENHAM, *in Saxon* tẏnþam, *that is, the towne of Ten houses: as* Eightam *was called of the Eight dwellings there.*

I WOULDE begin with the Antiquities of this place, as commonly I doe in others, were it not that the latter and present estate thereof far passeth any that hath beene tofore it. For heere have wee, not onely the most dainty piece of all our Shyre, but such a Singularitie as the whole British Iland is not able to patterne. The Ile of Thanet, and those Easterne parts, are the Grayner: the Weald was the Wood: Rumney Marsh, is the Medow plot: the Northdownes towards the Thamyse, be the Cony garthe, or Warreine: and this Tenham with thirty other parishes (lying on each side this porte way, and extending from Raynham to Blean Wood) bee the Cherrie gardein, and Apple orcharde of Kent.

But, as this at Tenham is the parent of all the rest, and from whome they have drawen the good iuice of all their pleasant fruite: So is it also the most large, delightsome, and beautifull of them. In which respect you may phantasie that you now see *Hesperidum Hortos,* if not where Hercules founde the golden apples, (which is reckoned for one of his Heroical labours) yet where our honest patriote Richard Harrys

(Fruiterer to King Henrie the 8.) planted by his great coste and rare industrie, the sweet Cherry, the temperate Pipyn, and the golden Renate. For this man, seeing that this Realme (which wanted neither the favour of the Sunne, nor the fat of the Soile, meete for the making of good apples) was neverthelesse served chiefly with that Fruit from forrein Regions abroad, by reason that (as Vergil saide)

Pomaq degenerant, succos oblita priores:

and those plantes which our auncestors had brought hither out of Normandie had lost their native verdour, whether you did eate their substance, or drink their iuice, which we call Cyder, he (I say) about the yeere of our Lord Christ 1533. obtained 105. acres of good 1533. ground in Tenham, then called the Brennet, which he divided into ten parcels, and with great care, good choise, and no small labour and cost, brought plantes from beyonde the Seas, and furnished this ground with them, so beautifully, as they not onely stand in most right line, but seeme to be of one sorte, shape, and fashion, as if they had beene drawen thorow one Mould, or wrought by one and the same patterne.

Within Tenham there was long since some Mansion perteining to the See of Canterburie: For, in the time of King Henrie the Seconde, there was a great dispute (before the Archbishop, then soiourning at Tenham) betweene the Prior of Canterburie, and the Prior of 1184. Rochester, not for the Crosse (for that is the Archbishops warre) but for the Crosier of the Bishop of Rochester, then lately dead, which (as they of Canterbury claymed) ought to lye upon the Altar with them, to be delivered to the next Bishop, but was contradicted by them of Rochester. This pointe of

Prioritie was to and fro mainteined with such pertinacitie, that neither would yeelde to other, but in the end they of Rochester put the Crosier into the hands of Baldwyne the Archbishop, who foorthwith delivered it to the Prior of Canterburie, of whom Gilbert Glanville the next successor tooke it. And at this house in the time of King Iohn, Hubert the Archbishop
1205. departed this life, as Mathew Parise reporteth: who addeth also, that when the King had intelligence of his death, he brast foorth into great ioy, and said, that he was never King (in deede) before that houre.

It seemeth, that he thought himselfe delivered of a shrewe, but little forsawe he that a shrewder should succeede in the roome; for if he had, he would rather have praied for the continuance of his life, than ioyed in the understanding of his death.

For after this Hubert, followeth Stephan Langton, who brought upon King Iohn such a tempesteous Sea of sorrowfull trouble, that it caused him to make shipwrack, both of his honour, crowne, and life also: The storie hath appeered at large in Dover, and therefore needeth not now eftsoones to bee repeated. Touching the sickly situation of this towne, and the region thereabout, you may be admonished by the common Rythme of the countrie, singing thus,

He that will not live long,
Let him dwell at Muston, Tenham, or Tong.

SHEPEY, *called sometimes* Covnos, *and* Covennos, *in Latine,* Insula Ovium, *and* Ovinia, á Balantum nomine *(as one writeth), in Saxon,* Sceapiȝe, *the Ile of Sheepe.*

SEXBURGA (the wife of Ercombert, a King of Kent) folowing the ensample of Eanswide, the daughter of King Ethelbald, erected a Monasterie of women in the Ile of Shepy, called Minster, which (in the late iust, and generall suppression) was found to be of the yeerly value of an hundreth and twenty pounds. 660.

This house, and the whole Ile was scourged thrice within the space of twenty yeeres and a little more by the Danes, whome I may well call (as Artila the leader of the like people, called himselfe) *Flagellum Dei,* the whip, or flaile of God. First, by thirtie and five saile of them, that arrived there and spoiled it: 832.
Secondly, and thirdly, by the armies of them, that wintered their ships within it: 851. 855.
Besides all which harmes, the followers of the Earle Godwine and his sonnes (in the time of their proscription) landed at Shepy, and harried it.

It should seeme by the dedication of the name, that this Ilande was long since greatly esteemed either for the number of the sheepe, or for the finenesse of the fleese, although auncient foreign writers ascribe not much to any part of all Englande (and much lesse to this place) either for the one respect, or for the other: But whether the sheepe of this Realme were in price before the comming of the Saxons, or no, 1052. The English sheepe and wooll.

they be now (God be thanked therefore) woorthy of great estimation, both for the exceeding finenesse of the fleese (which passeth all other in Europe at this day, and is to be compared with the auncient delicate wooll of Tarentum, or the Golden Fleese of Colchos, it selfe) and for the abundant store of flocks so increasing every where, that not only this litle Isle whiche we have now in hand, but the whole realme also, might rightly bee called Shepey.

This Ilande is also abundantly blessed with corne: But it feeleth some want of wood, which it now adaies buyeth deerely in the continent of the Shyre. It hath in compasse about 21. myles, and is a Bailiwike or part of the Hundred of Mylton, as you may see in the particular of the Shyre that is already set downe.

In it there are at this day, two places, the one called Kingsborough, and the other Queenborough, maried (if I may so speake) in name, as the chiefe things of Note within the Ile.

The first, was aunciently called Cyninʒburþ, (all one with the present name Kingsbourghe) and (being situate in the very midst of the Ile, and thereby most commodiously for the assembly of the inhabitantes) hath evermore beene frequented for the holding of their generall court, whereunto all the Ilanders do resort, as well for the choice of their Constable, that hath the office of the peace, as also for the election of the Bailies (or Wardeins) that take the charge of the Kings ferrie (or passage) by water betweene the Ile and the maine lande of the Shyre.

The other, was by King Edward the third at the very first named *Reginæ Burgus*, in Latine, that is, Queeneboroughe, as we now speake, in English; and

not Cuningburgh, as Leland (mistaking it) did for a time misseleade me to thinke. This standeth at the West end of Shepey, together with the Castle, and was by the same King (as himselfe saieth in his Letters patents, dated the tenth day of May in the forty two yeere of his reigne) builded for the strength of his Realme, and for the refuge of the inhabitants of this Iland,

During this building, William of Wickam (surnamed Perot) a man not so plentifully endowed with good learning, as abundantly stored with Ecclesiasticall 1366.
living, (for he had nine hundred pounds of yeerely revenue, fourteene yeeres together, and was afterwarde by degrees advaunced to the keeping, first of the privie, and then of the broad seale) was Surveiour of the Kings workes, which is the very cause (as I conjecture) that some have ascribed to him the thanke of the building it selfe. This Castle or platforme was somewhat repaired by King Henrie the Eight, at such 1536.
time as hee raised Blockhouses along the Sea coasts, for the causes already rehearsed in Dele.

Of this Castle at Quinborow, Leland saith thus,

Castrum Regius editum recipit
Burgus, fulmina dira, & insulanos
Tutos servat, ab impetu vel omni.

A Castle high, and thundring shot,
At Quinbroughe is now plaste:
Which keepeth safe the Ilanders,
From every spoile and waste.

Being at this Castle (in the yeere 1579) I found there, one Mathias Falconar (a Brabander) who did

(in a furnesse that he had erected) trie and drawe very good Brimstone and Copperas, out of a certein stone that is gathered in great plenty upon the Shoare neare unto Minster in this Ile.

Neare unto this Castle, the same King Edward, did at the same time also, erect (as I saide) the Towne of Quinborow, which he created a free Borough, and made the Townsmen Burgesses, giving them power to choose yeerely a Maior and two Bailifes, that should make their oath of allegeance before the Constable of that Castle, endowing them with Counsance of pleas, with the liberty of two markets weekely, and two Faires yeerely, and benefiting them with freedome of Tholle, and sundrie other bountifull privileges, that might allure men to inhabite the place.

FEVERSHAM, *in Saxon* ꝼæꝼꝛeꝛꝑam, *and* ꝼæꝼꝛeꝛꝼeld &c.

AS it is verie likely, that the Towne of Feversham received the chiefe nourishment of hir increase from the Religious house: So there is no doubt, but that the place was through the benefite of the water somewhat of price long time before the building of that
903. Abbay there. For it is to be seene, that King Ethelstane helde a Parleament and enacted certeine lawes at Feversham, about sixe hundreth and forty yeeres agoe: at which time (I thinke) it was some Manor house belonging to the Prince, the rather, for that afterwarde King William the Conquerour (to whose

handes at length it came) amongst other things gave the advowson of the Church to the Abbay of Saint Augustines, and the Manor it selfe to a Normane in recompence of service. 1072.

But what time King Stephan had in purpose to build the Abbay, he recovered the Manor againe, by exchaunge made with one William de Ipre (the founder of Boxley) for Lillychurch: and so raising heere a 1140. stately Monasterie (the temporaltics whereof did amount to a hundreth fiftie and five poundes) he stored it with Cluniake Monkes.

This house, was first honoured with the buriall of Mawde the Queene, his wife: Then with the sepulture 1151. of Eustachius his onely sonne: and shortly after 1152. himselfe also was there interred by them.

I reade none other thing worthy remembraunce touching this place, Save that in the reigne of King 1154. Iohn, there brake out a great controversie betweene him and the Monkes of S. Augustines, touching the right of the Patronage of the church of Feversham. For, notwithstanding that King William the Conquerour, had given it to the Abbay (as appeereth before) yet, there wanted not some (of which number Hubert the Archbishop was one) that whispered King 1202. Iohn in the eare, that the right of the Advowson was devoluted unto him: which thing he beleeving, presented a Clarke to the Churche, and besides commaunded by his writ, that his presentee should be admitted. The Abbat on the other side withstoode him, and for the more sure enioying of his possession, not only eiected the Kings Clarke, but also sent thither divers of his Monkes to keepe the Church by strong hand.

Monkes doe contend with the King forcibly.

When the King understood of that, he commanded the Sheriffe of the Shyre to levie the power of his countie, and to restore his presentee: Which commaundement the officer endevoured to put in execution accordingly: But such was the courage of these holy hoorsons, that before the Sheriffe could bring it to passe, he was driven to winne the Church by assault, in which he hurt and wounded divers of of them, and drewe and haled the rest out of the doores, by the haire and heeles.

Now it chaunced that (at the same time) Iohn the Cardinall of Saint Stephans (the Popes Legate into Scotland) passed through this Realme, to whom (as hee soiourned at Canterburie) the Monks made their mone: and he againe, both incouraged them to sende their Pryor to Rome for remedie, and furnished them with his own Letters in commendation of their cause: In which, amongst other things, he told the holy father Innocentius plainely, that if he would suffer Monkes to be thus intreated, the Apostolique authority would soone after be set at nought, not onely in England, but in all other countries also.

Hecreupon the Pope sent out his commission, for the understanding of the matter: but the Monkes (being now better advised) tooke a shorter way, and sending to the King two hundreth marks in a purse, and a faire Palfrey for his owne sadle, they both obteined at his handes restitution of their right, and also wan him to become from thencefoorth their good Lord and Patrone.

But heere (I pray you) consider with me, whether these men be more likely to have been brought up in the Schoole of Christ, and Paule his Apostle (who

teach, *Ne resistatis malo: & vincatis bono malum:* Resist not evill, but overcome evill with good). Or rather to have drawne their divinitie out of Terence Comedie, where the counsell is, *Malumus nos prospicere, quàm hunc ulcisci accepta iniuria;* We had rather looke to ourselves before hand, than tarrie to be revenged of him when we have taken wrong. Yea, and out of the woorst point of all Tullies Philosophie, where he permitteth, *Lacessitis iniuria, inferre vim & iniuriam;* Those that be provoked by iniurie, to doe wrong and iniurie againe: seeing they bee so ready, not of even ground only, but before hande, not to aunswere, but to offer, force and violence, even to Kings and Princes themselves. I wis they might have taken a better lesson out of Terence himselfe, who adviseth wise men *Consilio omnia prius experiri quam armis*: To prove al things by way of counsel, before they take weapon in hand, and therefore I pitie their beating so much the lesse. But by this and such other Monkish partes of theirs, you may see, *Quid otium & cibus faciat alienus:* What idlenesse, and cheere at other mens charge, is able to doe.

This towne is well peopled, and flourisheth in wealth at this day, notwithstanding the fall of the Abbay; which thing happeneth by a singular preeminence of the situation: for it hath, not onely the neighbourhood of one of the most fruitfull partes of this shyre (or rather of the very garden of Kent) adioyning by lande, but also a commodious creeke, that serveth to bring in and carrie out by the water, whatsoever wanteth or aboundeth to the countrie, about it.

Upon the hill at Little Davington neare to this Town, King Henry the 2. about the 2. yeere of his reigne, raised a Priorie of Blacke Nonnes to the

honour of Mary Magdalene: in emulation (as it may seeme) of that which his immediate predecessor King Stephan had erected at Feversham it selfe. The name, or value, is not read in the Register of the generall suppression of the Religious houses, bicause (as I have heard) it escheated to the King before that time, or forfaited for not mainteining the due number of Nonnes appointed by the foundation.

GENLADE, *or rather* Yenlade, *now sounded commonly,* Yenlet.

BEDA hath mention of a water in Kent, running by Reculvers, which he calleth Genlade: This name was afterward sounded Yenlade, by the same misrule, that ȝeaɲð is now Yard, ȝeoc Yoke, ȝẏlð Yeeld, ȝemen Yeomen, and such other.

Henrie of Huntingdon also reporteth, that King Edward (the Sonne of Alfred) builded at Gladmouth: This place I coniecture to have stoode at the mouth of such a water, and thereof to have been called, first Genlademouthe, and afterward (by contraction, and corruption of speech) Glademouthe.

The names of Towns framed out of the mouthes of Rivers.

For, to compound the name of a Towne, out of the mouth of a River adioining, was most familiar with our auncestors: as Exmouthe was framed out of the River Ex: Dartmouthe of the water Dert: Stourmouth in this Shyre of Stowre, and such other like:

The corruption of our English speech.

And no lesse common also with us of later time is it, to corrupt (by contraction) the true names almost of al places, but especially of so many of the same, as consisted at the first of three sillables, or above.

For, of Medweys Towne, we make Maidstone: of Eglesford, Ailsford: of Ottanford, Otford: of Sevennocke, Sennocke: and so foorth infinitely, both throughout this Shyre, and the whole Realme: and that so rudely (in a great many) that hardly a man may know them to be the same: For, Maildulphesbyrig we call Malmesburie: Eovesham Esham: and Hagustaldsham we cut off by the waste, and nickname it, Hexam.

Neither hath this our manner of abbreviation, corrupted the names of townes and places onely, but infected (as it were with a certaine contagion) almost our whole speech and language: calling that which in olde time was Þeoþoδ now Head, Kynning King, Hlaford Lord, Sunu Sonne, and innumerable such other, so that our speech at this day (for the most part) consisteth of wordes of one sillable. Which thing Erasmus observing, merily in his Ecclesiast. compareth the English toong to a Dogs barking, that soundeth nothing els, but Baw, waw, waw, in Monosillable.

But if this roving arrow of mine owne coniecture, have missed the marke of Glademouth whereat I directed my shot, yet will I pricke at Yenlade with another out of the same quiver, and happily go neerer to it. Beda speaketh there of the Northeast mouth of the flood Genlade: which speech of his were idle, if that water had none other mouthe but that one. And therefore, when I reade in Bedaes first booke *(Chap.* 25.) that Wantsume divideth the Ile of Thanet from the Continent, on both sides: and in his fifte booke *(Chap.* 9.*)* that Reculver standeth at the Northe mouthe of the water Genlade, which is the one mouthe

of Wantsume, by his owne description: I suppose, that by Genlade he meaneth a thing yet well knowne in Kent, and expressed by the word Yenlade (or Yenlet) which betokeneth an Indraught (or Inlett) of water into the lande, out of, and besides the maine course, of the Sea, or of a River. For that water, which now sundereth the Ile of Greane from the Hundred of Hoo, hath two such mouthes (or Inlettes) the one of which opening into the Thamyse, is called the North Yenlet, (notable for the greatest Oisters, and Flounders:) and the other (receaving the fall of Medway) is called Colemouth: and neither of them standeth in the full sweepe, or right course, of those Rivers, but in a diverticle, or by way.

Such another there is also, lying southwarde within the same Medway, into which it openeth two mouthes, and thereof called likewise South Yenlet, notorious also for great Oisters, that be dredged thereaboutes. And even such an one is the Yenlet at Reculver, where it openeth that way into the Sea towardes the Northe, and hath the other mouthe into Wantsume (or Stowre, as it is now called) towards the Southe, not in the streight course of that River, (which maketh to the Sea betweene Stonar, and Sandwiche) but diverted, and led aside.

As touching the water that runneth betweene the Continent and the Ile of Shepey, the same is called the Welle, and is not neare to any of these Genlades, or Yenlettes. And where the Statute (4. H. 7. an. 15.) maketh the Maior of London to bee conservatour of the Thamyse, from the bridge at Stanes to the water of Yendal and Medway, that must be understood, to extende to Colemouth, where Medway and Yenlett

doe occurre and meete: and the woord Yendal is misprinted, for Yenlade or Yenlett, in that place of the Statute.

RECULVERS; *in Latine,* Regulbium, *or (as* Twyne *sayeth)* Reculsum: *in Saxon* Raculf Mynster; *derived (as I gesse) of the Bryttish woord* Racor, *that signifieth* forward, *for so it standeth, toward the Sea.*

THE present estate of Reculvers (as you may see) deserveth nor many wordes: As touching the antiquitie thereof and beginning of the place. I reade, first that Ethelbert, the first King of Kent, having placed Augustine at Canterbury, withdrew himselfe to Reculver, and there erected a Palaice for himselfe and his successours: the compasse whereof may be traced out by the ruines of an olde Wall there that are yet to bee seene. Furthermore, that Ecgbrighte (the seventh King of Kent, in succession after Hengist) gave to one Bassa, the land at Reculver to build him a Mynster upon, which stoode at the one side of the water Wantsume, that ran two sundrie waies into the Sea, and made Tanet an Iland: And finally, that not long after the same time, one Brightwald (being Abbat there) was advaunced to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury, and was not the first, as Polydore saieth, but the seconde man of all the Saxon nation that aspired to that dignitie.

The river called Wantsume

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In which behalfe, Reculvers (how poore and simple soever otherwise) hath (as you see) somewhat whereof

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to vaunte it selfe: As it may also, of the body of Ethelbert the second (a King of Kent) which (as the Annales of Saint Augustines report) remaineth likewise interred there: whose monument is shewed at the upper ende of the Southe Ile of the Church that yet vaunteth it selfe with two steeples. The Oisters that be dredged at Reculver, are reputed as farre to passe those at Whitstaple, as those of Whitstaple doe surmount the rest of this shyre, in savorie saltnesse.

The order of this description.

Thus have I walked about this whole Diocese: now therefore let me cutte over to Watlingstreete, which I will use for my way to Rochester, and tell you of the places that lye on each side. But first, heare (I pray you) of Stouremouthe, and Wingham, which be in my way to Watlingstreete.

STOUREMOUTHE, *in Latine,* Ostium Sturæ, *that is to say, the mouth of the River Stoure.*

KING Alfred, having many times (and that with much losse, and more daunger) encountered his enemies the Danes, and finding that by reason of the sundry swarmes of them arriving in divers parts of his Realme at once, he was not able to repulse them being landed, he rigged up a royall Navie, and determined to keepe the highe Seas, hoping thereby either to beate them upon the water, or to burne their vessels if they should fortune to arrive.

Soone after this, it fortuned his Navie to meet with the Danish fleete at the mouthe of the River Stour,

where at the first encounter the Danes lost sixteene saile of their ships: But, (as many times it falleth out, that securitie followeth victorie) so the Kings armie kept no watch, by reason whereof the Danes having repaired their forces, came freshly upon the English mariners at unwares, and finding them fast a sleepe, gave them a great and bloudie overthrowe.

The likenesse, or rather, the agreement of the names, would leade a man to thinke, that the true place of this conflict shoulde be Stouremouthe, in this Shyre, the rather for that it is derived of the mouth of the river Stoure, and that by the circumstance of the storie it appeereth, that King Alfred was in Kent when he made determination of this iourney. Howbeit, he that shal advisedly read the story as it is set downe by Asserus, shal confesse it to have beene in Eastangle, which conteined Norfolke and Suffolke, &c. And for the more certeinty, I take it to have chaunced at the same place which we now call Harwiche Haven. For that River divideth Essex from Suffolke, and not farre from the head thereof in Essex, there standeth a Towne yet called Sturmere, which (in my phantasie) sufficiently mainteineth the knowledge of this matter.

Thus much I thought fit to say of the name Stowremouth, least otherwise the Reader (whome I would keepe within the limits of Kent) might be shipped in the boate of this errour, and be suddenly conveied from me. Againe, it shall not be amisse (for the better understanding of this selfesame Hystorie, penned by Henrie Huntingdon) to note that in this place, hee calleth the Danes, not *Paganos*, as in the rest of his booke he useth, but by a strange name Wicingas, as the Saxon Chronicles in report of the same matter doe terme them.

Which worde (I thinke) he tooke out of some Saxon Chronicle that he followed, and happily understood not what it signified: For if he had, why should he not rather (since he wrote Latine) have called them Piratas, as the woord Wicingas in deed meaneth, and as Asserus in the rehersal of the same fight had done before him.

The decay of the olde English tongue.

It may be, that he was a Norman borne: And truly I suppose that the Saxon speech was well nigh worne out of use, in the reigne of King Stephan, (under whome he lived) seeing that even immediately after the comming in of the Conquerour, it began to decline.

For it is plaine, that the Normans at their very first entrie, laboured by all means to supplant the English, and to plant their owne language amongst us: and for that purpose, they bothe gave us the lawes, and all manner of pastimes, in the Frenche tongue, as he that will peruse the Lawes of the Conquerour, and consider the terms of Hawking, Hunting, Tenise, Dice play, and other disportes, shal easily perceave: they reiected also the Saxons Characters, and all that their wonted manner of writing, as writeth Ingulphus, the Abbat of Croyland (which came over with them) and as a man may yet see in the booke of Domesday it selfe, which (notwithstanding that it was written within a few yeeres after the arrivall of the Conquerour) yet being penned by Norman writers, it reteineth very few letters of the Saxon Alphabet.

Thus farre, by occasion of Stoure in Suffolke: But now the head and course of our Kentish Stoure, standeth thus: It hath two Originals, the one at Streatwell in Leneham, not fully one mile distant from that which riseth at Bygon (as I saide) and helpeth Med-

way: the other at Postlyng church: and these both doe ioine neare to Ayshford, where it first craveth the name of Stoure, and from whence assisted with other streames that conspire with it, they all passe in one bottome to Wie, and to Canterbury, and did in times past run to Stourmouth, now somwhat removed: not far from which, it receaveth the water that springeth at S. Edburghes well, adioining to the churchyarde at Lyming, and of which divers townes that border upon it have Borne for the last syllable of their names. After this, it beginneth to divide it selfe two waies, and to describe the Ile of Thanet, ceassing to be called any longer Stoure, but Yenlade, or Wantsume, as even now I tolde you.

WINGHAM.

BESIDES the stately, and Princelike Palaices at Canterburie, Maidstone, Otford, Knoll, Croydon, and Lambhythe, which the Archbishops of this Shyre kept in their handes, bothe to perfourme their set solemnities of housekeeping, and to soiourne at with their whole traines, when they travelled towarde the Court and Parleament, or remained for busines about the same: they had also of auncient time divers other Manor houses of lesse cost and capacitie, planted in divers parts of this country, in which they used to breathe themselves, after their great feastes and affaires finished, and to lodge at, when they traveiled the Countrie to make their visitations. The Archbishops were well housed.

Of this number (amongst other) were Foorde, Charte, Charing, Charteham, Tenham, and this our Wingham:

at the which, Baldwyne (the Archbishop in the reigne of King Henry the Second) lay, at such time, as hee had contention with his Covent of Christes Church, for making a Chappell at Hakington, as in fit place you shall finde more largely disclosed.

In the meane season, I will tel you, that (as the Annales of Saint Augustines report) when two of his Monkes cames to this house on horsebacke, in great haste to serve the processe of that suite upon him, he receaved the Processe dutifully, but he caused them to dismount, and to walke home on foote faire and softly.

Provision of armour.

At this house also, King Edwarde the First rested for a season, with Robert of Winchelsey (then newly made Archbishop) whilest he tooke order for the defence of the Sea coasts, charging bothe the spiritualitie and commons with horse and armour, according to the quantities of their livelyhoodes and possessions.

And here was he advertised, that one of his familie (called Sir Thomas Turbeuille, whom he had sent into Gascoine with commission) was fallen into the hands of the Frenche King his enemie, and imprisoned in Paris, and that for his deliverance he had conspired with the Frenche King, and promised to betray the King his maister: whereupon King Edward caused such diligent watch to be laid for him, that he was taken, and such speedie and severe iustice to be executed upon him, that hee was foorthwith condemned, drawen thorowe London, and hanged on live. Of this man a Poet of that age, alluding to his name, made this verse following, and some other.

Turbat tranquilla clam, Thomas Turbida villa, &c.

Our things now in tranquillitie,
Thom. Turbuill troubleth privilie.

And heere againe King Edwarde the Second lay with Walter Reignold the Archbishop, conferring with him and others concerning his passage into Fraunce for the dooing of his Homage: but in the end resolved to send over his sonne Edward (afterward called the third King of that name) to whome he had given the Duchie of Aquitane: with him went the mother also, where betweene her and her complices was contrived that, which cost her Husband both his Crowne, and life also, as all our Hystories can enforme you. 1225.

It is no small token of the auncient estimation of this place, that it giveth the name to the whole hundreth in which it is situate: for that is moste usuall, both in this Shyre, and elsewhere, that the whole territorie (be it Lathe, Wapentake, or Hundreth) most commonly beareth the name of some one place, most notable, and excelling other within the same at the time of the name imposed, although happily at this day some other place doe much exceede it. The names of Lathes, and of Wapentakes.

To make an end, heere was sometime a religious College of sixe Prebendaries and som Churchmen, the governour whereof was called a Provost, which some doe suppose to have beene founded by Iohn Peckam the Archbishop, and I finde to have beene valued at fourescore and foure pounds of yeerely revenue. 1284.

WATLINGSTREETE, *in Saxon* peaclingrtpeze, *of one* Weatle, *whom the printed booke of* Math. West. *calleth untruly,* Wading.

KING Molmutius, the British Solon and first Law maker, decreed amongst other things, that such as were found praying in the Temple, labouring at the The Priviledges of high waies.

plough, or travailing in the high waies, should not be impeached by any officer, but that they shoulde enioy peaceable freedome and libertie, both for their goods and persons. But, forasmuch as he had not (in his life time) described those waies that he would have thus privileged, great contention arose after his death, which waies shoulde be taken for high and royall, and which not: and therefore, Belinus (his Sonne and successour) to cease all controversie, limited in certaine, foure especiall high waies: whereof the first was called, Ermingstreete, and lead (after the opinion of some) from Southampton to Saint Davids in Wales, or (as others write) to Carlile in the North: The se-

Fossway. conde was named Fosseway, and extended from Cathnes in the North of Scotland, to Totnes, a cape of Cornewall: The Third Ikeneled (or as others write it) Rekeneld, and reached from East to West (as Huntingdon affirmeth) but as others will, from Tinmouth to Saint Davids, which is from Northeast to South-

Watling-streete. west. Watlingstreet, where we now are, was the fourth, and it began at Dover (after the opinion of Ralfe Higden) passed through the midst of Kent, crossed the Thamise at the West end of London, (howbeit others, to whom I rather incline, thinke that it ran through London, and left the name to Watlingstreete there) from thence to Saint Albons, Dunstable, Stretford, Towcester, Lilburne, and Wrecken, thence over the river of Severne to Stretton, and so through the midst of Wales to Cardigan, and to the banke of the Irishe Sea.

And this is the common and received opinion (although in deede there be divers) touching the first beginning and description of this way. But Simon

the Chaunter of Durham, and he that made the continuation to the Hystorie of Asserus Meneuensis (bothe very good authours) ascribe bothe the beginning and the name also of this way, to the sonnes of a Saxon King, whom they called Weatle: which their opinion, as I doe not greedily receive, bicause I finde not that name (Weatle) in any Catalogue of the Kings that I have seene: so will I not rashly reiect it, for the estimation that I otherwise reteine of the writers themselves, But doe leave the Reader to his free choice, to take or leave the one, or the other.

And, as there is difference concerning the first beginning and name of this way: So all agree not in the trace and true course of the same. For Henry (the Archdeacon of Huntingdon) affirmeth, that it stretched from Dover to Chester. And this Simon reporteth, that it extended it selfe from the East Sea to the West. Which third and last opinion, may well ynough stand, either with the first, or the seconde.

But now, as touching this privilege graunted by Molmutius, although it continue not altogither in the same plight, yet some shadowe thereof remaineth even to this day, as by the lawes of King Edward the Confessour which confirmed the protection of the foure waies by name, and by the Statute of Marlbridge, which forbiddeth distresses to be taken in any the Kings high waies or common streetes; and by the Statute (called *Articuli Cleri)* which commaundeth that such as abjured shoulde not be molested while they be in the highe waies, may evidently appeere.

Furthermore, I finde in Hystorie, that this Watlingstreete, hath heretofore not onely served for the free passage of the people, but that it hath beene (at times

also) a marke and bounder betweene some Kings for the limits of their iurisdictions and authoritie: for so it was betweene Edmund and Anlaf, Alfred and Guthrum, and others.

The order of this description.

But, bicause those matters reach further than this Shyre extendeth, I will reserve them to fit place, and shewe you in the meane while, what I count note woorthy on both sides of this way, till I come to the Diocesse of Rochester.

LYMINGE.

ON the South side of Watlingstreete, and under the Downes, Lyminge is the first that offereth it selfe: concerning the which, I have found a note or twaine, that make more for the antiquitie, than for the estimation of the place.

For I reade in the Annales of St. Augustines of Canterbury. that Eadbald (the sonne of King Ethelbert, the first Christened King of Kent) gave it to Edburge his sister, who foorthwith clocked together a sort of simple women, which under her wing there tooke upon them the Popish veile of widowhood.

S. Gregories in Canterburie, first builded.

But that order in time waxed colde: and therefore Lanfranc the Archbishop, at suche time as hee builded Sainct Gregories in Canterburie (as wee have touched in Tanet before) reckoning it no smal ornament of his dotation to bestowe some renowned Relique that might procure estimation to his worke, translated the olde bones of Edburge from Lyminge to Sainct Gregories, and verified in Papistrie the olde Maxime of Philosophie, *Corruptio unius, generatio alterius:* The corruption of one, is the generation of another.

1084. Reliques.

BARAMDOWNE, *in the Saxon,* Baꝛꝛamðune ⁊ *That is to say, The hill where the Bores doe abide.*

AS this place is of it selfe very fit (by reason of the flatte levell and plainenesse thereof) to array an host of men upon: So have we testimony of three great armies that have mustered at it. The one under the conduct of Iulius Cæsar, who landing at Dele (as we have before shewed) surveied his host at Baramdowne, and marching from thence against the Britons, so daunted their forces, that he compelled them to become tributary.

No lesse infortunate, but much more infamous to this countrie, was the time of the second muster here, which happened in the reigne of King Iohn: who hearing that Philip (the King of Fraunce) had by incitation of the Pope (as hath already appeered in Dover) prepared a great armie to invade him, and that he was ready at Calaice to take shipping, determined to incounter him upon the Sea, and (if that assay succeeded not) then to give him battaile on the lande also. For which service, hee rigged up his ships of warre, and sent to the Sea the Earle of Salisburie, (whom he ordeined Admirall) and calling togither fit men from all the partes of the Realme, he founde (by view taken at this place) an army of sixtie thousand to incounter his enemies, besides a sufficient number of able and armed souldiours to defend the land withall.

King Iohn yeeldeth to the Pope.

But now, whilest he thus awaited at Baramdowne to heare further of his adversaries comming, Pandulph

(the Popes Legate) sent unto him two Knights of the order of the Temple, by whose mouth he earnestly desired the King to graunt him audience. The King assented, and the Legate came unto him, and saide in summe as followeth.

Behold (O Prince) the King of Fraunce is in armes against thee, not as against a private enimie to him alone, but as an open and common adversarie both to the Catholike Church, to the Popes holynesse, to whole Christendome, and to God himselfe: Neither commeth hee upon opinion of his owne power and strength, but is armed with great confidence of Gods favourable aide, accompanied with the consent of many great Princes, furnished with the presence of such as thou hast banished out of thy Realme, and assured by the faithfull promises of sundry of thine owne Nobilitie whiche nowe are present in person with thee. Consider therefore in what danger thou standest, and spare not to submit thee, while space is: least if thou persist, there be no place left of further favour.

The King hearing this, and being (upon causes knowne to himselfe) more distrustful of Traitours at home, than fearfull of enimies abroade, agreed to serve the time, and taking the Legate to Dover with him, sealed the Golden Bull of submission, whereby Englande was once againe made a tributarie Province to the Citie of Rome, and that in so much the more vile condition, than it was before, as an usurped Hierarchie, is inferiour to a noble, lawfull, and renowmed Monarchie. For it is truly said, *Dignitate domini, minus turpis est conditio servi:* It is the lesse shame, to be servant, to a woorthy maister. Now when the Frenche King on the other side of the Seas,

hath woord heereof, he retired with his armie in a great choler, partly for that he was thus deluded, but chiefly bicause he had lost his navie, which the Earle of Salisburie had set on fire in the haven at Calaice.

The Barons warre

Simon Mountford (the Earle of Leicester, that was elected by the Barons of this Realme Generall of that armie which they raised against King Henrie the Third, arraied thirdly a very great hoast of men heere, at such time as he feared the arrivall of Eleonar the Queene, who being daughter to the Earle of Provence, and then left in Fraunce behind the King and the Earle, (which also had beene both there a little before, to receive the Frenche Kings awarde touching their controversie) ceassed not by all possible means to sollicite the King of Fraunce, and to incite other her friends and allies, to ayde King Henrie against the Nobilitie. But whether it were that presently they could not for their owne affaires, or that at all they durst not, knowing that their comming was awaited, they served not her desire: by means whereof, the Lords waxed strong, and soone after gave the King a battaile in Sussex, wherein they both tooke him, his brother Richarde, and his eldest sonne, prisoners. But as touching the originall, proceeding, and event of these wars, I willingly spare to speake muche in this place, knowing that I shall have opportunitie offered heereafter to discourse them. In the parish of Barham, a little from the side of the wood, and about six miles from Dover, appeereth yet an entrenched ground with three ditches: which whether it were the place where Cæsar, or (after him) some Saxon, or Danish Capitane, encamped, I cannot informe you. Now therefore let us consider a few other places, and then haste us to Canterburie.

Charteham.

AFTER such time as King Iohn had made himselfe the Popes Tenaunt of the Crowne and Realme of Englande, (as even now I tolde you) the Clergie of this countrie was so oppressed with Romish exactions, that they were become, not only unable, but thereby unwilling also, to releeve the necessitie of the Prince with any prest of money, as in times past they had accustomed to do. Whereat the King on the one side taking offence, pressed them many times very harde, not ceasing till he had wroong somewhat from them: and they on the other side, appealing to their holy fathers aide, procured (by their great cost) many sharpe prohibitions, and proud menacies against him. So that sundry times in the reigne of King Henry the Third, this Ball was busily tossed betweene the King and the Pope, the Clergie (in the meane while) looking upon, but nothing laughing at the game.

The Popes revenue, in England. 1246.

Amongst other things done for the manifestation of the Popes ravine, the same King at one time commaunded a generall surview to be made of the Popes yeerely revenue within this realme, and found it to surmount the yeerely receipt of his owne Eschequer, in very rent, besides innumerable secrete gifts and rewards whereof no account could be made.

Heereupon the Prince, by advise of his Realme, sent speciall messengers to the generall Councell that was then holden at Lyons in Fraunce, with commission to sue for redresse. The like complaint also, was, at

the same time, and for the same cause, exhibited by the King of Fraunce: Neither was the state of the Empire then free from the heavie yoke of that Popish oppression: for M. Parise reporteth, that even then the Emperour himselfe wrote an earnest letter to the King and Nobilitie of this Realme, solliciting them to ioine with him in withstanding the tyranny of the Romish See. Howbeit, all this coulde not helpe, but that the Popes (labouring daily more and more with this incurable disease of Philargyrie) continually pilled the English Clergie, and so encountred King Henrie, that in the ende he was driven to use the meane of the Popes authoritie, whensoever he needed the aide of his owne spiritualitie.

After Henrie followed his sonne Edwarde the First, who being more occupied in martiall affaires than his Father was, and thereby the more often inforced to use the helpe of his subiectes, for the raising of some necessarie masses of money, now and then borowed of his Clergie: til at the length, Pope Boniface the Eight 1295.
(treading the path of his predecessours pride) tooke upon him to make a constitution, That if any Clerke gave to a layman, or if any lay person should take of a Clerke, any spirituall goodes, he should foorthwith stand excommunicate. By colour of which decree, the Clergie of England, at such time as the King next desired their contribution towardes his warres, made answere with one assent, That they would gladly, but they might not safely, without the Popes licence, agree to his desire.

A Parleament, without the Clergie.

Heereat the King waxed wrothe, and calling a Parleament of his Nobilitie and commons (from which he excluded the Bishops and Clergie) enacted, that their

persons should be out of his protection, and their goods subiect to confiscation, unlesse they would by submitting themselves redeeme his favour.

It was then a world to see, how the wealthie Bishops, fat Abbats, and riche Priors in each quarter bestirred them, each man contending with liberall offer to make his raunsome: in so much as the house of Sainct Augustines in Canterbury (as the Annales of their owne
1296. Abbay doe report) gave to the King two hundreth and fiftie pounds in money for their peace, having lost before (notwithstanding all their haste) two hundreth and fiftie quarters of their wheate, which the Kings Officers had seised to his use, and shipped to be sent into Gascoine for the victualing of his men of warre.

The traiterous behaviour of Robert of Winchelsey, the Archbishop.

Onely Robert of Winchelsey (then Archbishop of Canterbury) refused to aide the King, or to reconcile himselfe, in so much that of very stomacke he discharged his familie, abandoned the Citie, and withdrew himselfe to this Towne, the whiche was first given to his priorie of Christes church by one Alfred, a Noble man, about the yeere after Christ, 970: and from thence (as mine Author saith) he roade each Sunday and Holiday to the churches adioining, and preached the woorde of God.

Polidore, was the Popes creature.

Polidore, in his owne opinion, giveth him an apte Theme, writing that he preached upon this text, *Melius est obedire Deo, quam hominibus:* It is better to obey God, than men: which if he will have to serve the turne, he must construe it thus, It is better to obey the Pope, than the King, and so make the Pope a God, and the King no more than a common man.

But Peter the Apostle of God, from whome the Pope woulde seeme to derive, and Polidore the Apostle of

the Pope (for he first sent him hither to gather his Peter pence) were not of one minde in this point: For Peter inioineth us plainly, *Subditi estote omni humanæ ordinationi propter Dominum, sive Regi, tanquæm præcellenti, &c.* Be ye subiect to all humane ordinance, for the Lordes sake, whether it bee to the King as to the most excellent, &c. making the King the most excellent under God, who (no doubt) if he commaund not against God, is to be obeied before the Pope, concerning whome we have no commaundement at all in the Scriptures of God.

Howbeit, since Polidore and the Bishop served one common Maister, namely the man of Rome, it is the lesse marvaile if he commend his endevour in this part, and that also is of the lesse credit which he writeth of him in another place, where he bestoweth this honorable Elogium upon him, *Quantum in eo fuit, de Religione iuxa atq de Repub. promereri studuit, à qua nunquam discessit, nunquam oculos deiecit: ita officio suo atq omnium commodis sibi serviendum censuit.* As much as in him was (saith he) he studied to deserve well, both of religion, and of the common wealth, from the which he never departed, he turned away his eies: so thought he it meete to serve his owne dutie, and the profit of all men. As concerning his desert in religion I wil say nothing, bicause it may be thought the fault of that age, and not of the person onely: but as touching his behaviour towarde his Prince and Countrie (wherein also consisteth no small part of religion and feare of God) since our Law alloweth of the triall *De vicineto,* I will bring you one of his next neighbours to depose for him, a man that lived in the same time with him,

I meane the writer of the Annales of S. Augustines, who upon the yeere 1305. hath this note following:

Eodem an. 7. Kal. Maii. cum sæpe dictus Archiepiscopus Robertus, super multis Articulis enormibus (et præcipuè super proditione, quam cum quibusdam comitibus, & proceribus multis, pactus erat in dolo, ut Regem à Regni solio deiicerent, & filium eius Eduardum ipsius in throno subrogarent, & patrem perpetuo carceri manciparent) à Rege calumniaretur, & inficiari non possit obiecta: ultra quam credi potest timore percussus, ad Regis pedes pronus cadens in terram, ut eius mereretur assequi clementiam, sese per singula flends & eiulans, Regis subdidit voluntati: Sic igitur humiliatus est ille Deo odibilis & superbus, qui per totum Anglorum orbem, oris sui flatu, more meretricio, Sacerdotium deturpavit, & Clerum, & in populo tyranidem exercuit inauditam: Et qui Regem, Dominum suum, literatorie ei scribens, nominare renuit superbiendo, nunc humiliatus, & Regem, & Dominum suum facit, & nominat, obediens factus, sed inuitus ei deuotius seruiendo.

The same yeere, the 25. of April, when as the often named Robert the Archbishop, was chalenged by the King for many points of great enormitie, and especially for the treason which he had imagined with certaine Earles and Noblemen, to the ende that they shoulde displace the King from the seate of his Kingdome, and place his sonne Edward in his throne, and cast the father into perpetuall prison: and when he could not deny the things obiected against him, being stroken with an incredible feare, and falling down prostrate upon the earth at the Kings feete that hee might deserve to obtaine his favour, with weeping

and wailing he submitted himself wholly to the Kings pleasure. And thus was that proud, and most hatefull man to God, brought lowe and humbled, the which defiled throughout al England with the breath of his mouth (like an harlot) the state of the Priesthoode and Clergie, and exercised intollerable tyrannie over the people: and he, which before writing unto the King, refused in his letters for pride to call him his Lord, now being humbled, both acknowledgeth and calleth him his Lord and King, being made obedient, and to serve him with great devotion, but yet against his will.

Againe, when as in the same yeere he was cited to appeere at Rome (upon complaint that he had wastfully spoiled the goods of his Church) and came to the Court to sue for licence to passe over the Seas, the King (as soone as he came to his presence and had mooved his sute) caused the presence chamber doore to be set wide open, willed the standers by to give eare, and spake aloude to the Bishop in this manner, as the same author reporteth.

Licentiam transfretandi, quam à nobis postulare venisti, libenter tibi concedimus, revertendi autem licentiam nullam damus, memores doli, ac proditionis quas in Parlemento Lincolniæ cum Baronibus nostris in Regiam machinatus es Maiestatem, cuius rei litera signo tuo sigillata testis est, & testimonium perhibit contra te evidenter. Sed propter amorem beati Thomæ Martyris, & Ecclesiæ cui præes reverentiam, vindictam hucusque distulimus, reservantes eam Papæ, qui nostras iniurias ulciscetur, utpote speramus. A protectione vero nostra, te prorsus excludimus, omnem gratiam negantes & misericordiam, quia re vera semper

immisericors fuisti: Cumq Wintoniensis Episcopus pro eo intercederet, & Archiepiscopum Dominum suum esse diceret, Rex affirmavit, se omnium Prælatorum regni, & Regem, & Dominum esse principalem.

We willingly graunt you licence to passe over the Seas, according as you are come to desire, but to returne again we give you no licence at all, being mindfull of the deceit and treason, which you did practise with our Barons, against our Kingly Maiestie in the Parleament at Lincolne: of the which thing your letter signed with your owne seale is a witnes, and evidently giveth testimonie against you: Howbeit, for the love of Saint Thomas the Martyr, and for the reverence of the Church over the which you are set, wee have hitherto deferred the revenge, reserving it to the Pope, which (as wee hope) will make revenge of our iniuries. But we utterly exclude you from our protection, denying you all grace and mercie, bicause indeede you have alwaies beene an unmercifull man. And when as the Bishop of Winchester made intercession for him, and said, that the Archbishop was his Lord, the King affirmed, that he himselfe was the King and chiefe Lorde of all the Prelates of the Realme.

This matter I have exemplified the more at large, both to the end that you may see how great a traitour to his Prince, how unmercifull a tyrant to the common people, and how foule a blemish to the Ecclesiasticall order, this Bishop was, quite contrarie to that which M. Polydore affirmeth of him: and also that you may understand, what authoritie King Edward the first in plaine termes, chalenged over his Cleargie: not such as Anselme offered King William Rufus, when he tooke Canterburie of his gift, saying, *Summo potifici*

King Edward the first, claymeth supremacy over the Clergie.

debeo obedientiam, tibi consilium. I owe my obedience to the high Bishop, and my counsell to you. But such as a true subiect oweth to his Liege King and lawfull sovereigne, and such as differeth no more from that which we at this day attribute to our Prince, than *Principalis Dominus,* and *Supremus Gubernator* do 1313.
varie in sunder.

And yet (beholde the madnes of the time) after the death of this Bishop, the common people forsooth resorted to his tumbe, and would needes have made a Saint of him, had not the Sepulchre been defaced and their follie staied by authoritie and publique ordinance.

CHILHAM, *in Saxon* Cỳleꝑam, *which soundeth, the cold place*: Leland *saith, that some called it the* Castle of Iosua: *and Master* Camden *writeth, that some call it* Iulham, *of* Iulius.

THAT Chylham Castle had aunciently the reputation of an Honour, appeareth by a Note, taken out of the Patentes (15. *Regis Ioannis)* where it is said, that Thomas Peverel had committed to his charge, the Castle of Chylham with the Honour. For, it was a member of the Castle of Dover, and in the allotement of lands for the defence of Dover, it fell to the share of Fulbert of Dover, who (in consideration thereof) undertooke to finde at his owne charge fifteen able souldiours, whereof three should warde at Dover every moneth, and so mainteine it by the continuance of twenty weekes in the yeere.

I might suspect, that it came afterwarde to the possession of the Archbishop: for I have read, that upon a time, King Iohn came thither, to treate with Stephan Langton the Archbishop, for reconciliation to be had betweene them. But I finde that the Scottish Earle of Ashele enioyed it by marriage with Isabel of Dover, and that he engaged it for money to King Edwarde the Third: and that in the time of his sonne (Edwarde the Seconde) the Lorde Bartholomew of Badlesmer (that was Steward of that Kings house, and woulde faine have beene Earle of Kent) possessed the place, and magnificently feasted there the Queene, with many of the Nobilitie, whom he presented with the most liberal guiftes and rewardes.

The building (saith Leland) was not onely commodious for use, and beautifull for pleasure, but strong also for defence and resistance: and so continued untill that Sir Thomas Cheynie translated the best materials thereof, to his house at Shoreland in the Ile of Shepey.

Master Camden, learnedly (as in other things) hath collected out of Cæsars owne wordes, that this was the very place, where he (in his seconde attempt against this Iland) encamped twelve miles from the Sea shoare, along a Rivers side: and coniectureth, that (not without reason) some have thereof called it Iulham, the place of Iulius: even as others call the Greene hillocke at Chilham, Iullaber, of Laberius Durus, one of Cæsars Colonels, that was slaine by the Britaines upon the rising of that his Campe.

WYE, *the woorde (in Bryttish) signifieth, an* Egge.

WHAT time King William the Conquerour endowed his Abbay of Battell in Sussex, he gave thereunto (amongst other) his Manor of Wye, conteining at that time seven hydes or ploughe landes, and being (before that time) of the Demeasnes of the Crowne.

The Chronicles of Battell Abbay affirme, that there were sometimes two and twenty Hundreths subiect to the iurisdiction of this Manor: which if it be true, then (as farre as I can reache by coniecture) the territorie of Wye was the very same in compasse, that now the Last of Screy (or Sherwinhope) describeth, that is to say, the fift part of this whole Shyre, consisting of two and twenty Hundrethes in number.

The olde, and new manner, of wrecke, at the Sea.

The same King graunted to his Monkes of Battel, wrecke of the Sea, falling upon Dengemarishe, a portion of Wye, and willed further by his Charter of donation, that if any fish (called a Craspeis, that is, Crasse pisse, a great or roiall fishe, as whales, or suche other, which by the Lawe of Prerogative perteined to the King himselfe) shoulde happen to be taken there, that then the Monkes shoulde have it wholy: And if it fortuned to arrive in any other mans land (lying betweene Horsmede, and Withburne) that yet the Monkes should enioy the whole tongue, and two third partes of the rest of the body.

Now, in the reigne of King Henrie his Sonne, it fortuned, that a ship laden with the Kings owne goodes was wrecked within the precinct of this liber-

tie, which his Officers would have seised and saved to his use: but Geffray (then Abbat of Battell) withstoode them, and that so stoutly that the matter by complainte came to the Kings owne hearing: who (to make knowen how much he valued his fathers graunt) yeelded the matter wholy into the Abbats owne courtesie.

The same Storie observeth a thing touching Wrecke, (or rather Varech, as the custome of Normandie from whence it came, calleth it) not unworthie the recitall, that is, that of auncient time, if a ship were cast on shoare, torne with tempest, and not repaired by such as escaped on live within a certein time, that then this was taken for wreck, and so used along the coast. But Henrie the First (saith the booke) disliking the iniustice of that custome, ordeined, that if from thencefoorth any one thing (being within the vessell) arrived on live, then the ship and goods should not be seised for Wrecke.

This decree had force during all his reigne, and ought of congruence to have endured for ever: Howbeit, after his death, the owners of lande on the Sea shoare, shewing themselves more carefull of their owne gaine, than pitifull of other mens calamities, returned to the olde manner. Which their unmercifull covetise (as I suppose) provoked King Edward the First, by the statute (that we call Westminster the first) to make restitution of King Henries law: which even to this day remaineth in force, nothing so heavy against poore men (afflicted by misfortune of the Sea) as that former evill usage was, but yet (as the matter is commonly used) neither so easie as Christian charitie would, nor so indifferent as the lawes of other countries doe

affoord. And therefore I will leave it, as a thing worthy (amongst other) of reformation when God shal give time.

But to Wye againe: King Edwarde the Seconde (after the burial of his father, and before his owne Coronation) held the solemnitie of a whole Christmasse in the house of this Manor: And as for the towne of Wye, it is yet a well haunted market. 1308.

There was also at this towne, a College, valued in the Recordes at 93. pounds of yeerly revenue: the which (as I finde in certeine notes of Kent taken by Iohn Lelande, and given with others to mee by my friend Iohn Stowe of London, that diligent searcher of Antiquities) was founded by Iohn Kempe, the Archbishop of Canterbury: who being at the first the childe of a poore husbande man in Wye, became afterward a Doctor in both lawes and divinitie, then attained successively to the myters of Rochester, Chichester, and London, after that aspired to the Crosses and Palles of Yorke and Canterburie, and withall obteined the Cardinal hattes of St. Balbines and Saint Ruffines: as by this verse, made concerning him, it may appeere, The College.

Bis primas, ter præsul eras, bis Cardine functus.

Twice Primate, Bishop thrice, and Cardinal twice thou wast.

This man, in the 24. yeere after his translation to Yorke, and not three yeeres before his translation from this life, converted the parish church of Wye to the title of a College, the head whereof was called a Prebendarie, and the residue were Ministers for 1450.

Churche service. The speare or steeple of which Churche was fired by lightening, and consumed even to the stoneworke thereof.

ASHEFORDE, *which name is written in some olde Recordes,* Esshetisford, *and may be interpreted, the forde or passage over the water,* Eshe, *or* Eshet.

EVEN as the body, or bulke, of a tree, is compact of many rootes, the which at the first (and where they drawe from every side the iuice of the earth) be very small, and then doe waxe bigger by little and little, untill at the last they bee united into one trunke or body, able to receive all their sappe and moisture: So also, the greater ryvers (which fall not out of standing lakes) have their increase from many smal Wels (or springs) the which creepe at the first out of the earth, and bee conveied in slender quilles, then afterwarde (meeting together in course) doe growe by little and little into bigger pipes, and at the last doe emptie themselves into some one bottome, and so make up a great streame, or chanell.

One example whereof you have seene at Maidstone before, and another is now offered to your eie heere at Asheford: a good market towne, seated upon a water which hath before receaved the confluence and help of sundry smal brookes, or boornes: whereof some do lie on the Southeast side of his course, and the others on the Northweast.

Of the first sort those two be the chiefe, which come out the one from the towne of Brooke so called

of that water) and the other from the partes about Postlyng. Of the second sort bee, first those two, which beginne at the townes of Estwell and Westwell (which likewise take their names of those very welles or springs) and then those other two also, whereof the one breaketh out of the ground about Stallesfield, and the other near Leneham. And these last coople I take to be the same which the Chronicler of Christes-church did meane, when he saide, that Kenulph the King gave to Walfred the Archbishop and to Christes-churche, a piece of lande called Bynne, lying (*inter duos genitales rivos fluminis* Stowre) betweene two of those brookes which doe ingendre the river Stowre. Neverthelesse I am of the opinion, that this ryver is not rightly to be called Stowre (but Eshe, or Eshet) untill that it have passed this towne, as bothe in the title heereof, and in Stouremouthe before, I have already coniectured. 714.

There was at this towne a faire College, consisting of a Prebendarie, as head, and of certeine Priestes and Choristes, as members: the which was founded by Sir Fogge, a knight of this shyre, and controller of the housholde to King Edwarde the Fourth.

The Manor of Asheford perteined to the Dean and Chanons of the free Chappell of S. Stephans at Westminster that was founded by Edw. 3. for to them did King Edw. 4. in the 5. yeere of his reigne, give a faire to be holden at Asheford foure daies yeerely, beginning on the eeven of S. Iohn Port Latine, by the suite (as it seemeth) of the same his controller for the amendment of the Towne, to which his house at Ripton was neighbour.

CANTERBURY, *is called in Saxon* Cantpaꝑabyꝛiꝛ, *that is to say,* The citie (or court) of the Men of Kent: *which also agreeth with the Bryttishe woorde,* Caer Kent, *signifying the* Citie of Kent. *It is termed in Latine diversely, of some* Dorvernum, *and* Darvernum, *of others,* Durovernum: *of some* Dorobernia, *and of some corruptly* Dorobrinia. *All which names,* Leland *coniectureth to proceede, either of the River called* Stoure *(as wee have shewed) or else of the Brittish worde* Dour, *which signifieth water, bicause the countrey thereaboutes, is plentiously stored therewith. One other late writer taketh it to be called* Daruernum, *as if it were,* Dour ar guerne, *that is, the water neare the Fen or Marish.*

TO the end that (confusion avoided) eche thing may appeere in his proper place, it shall not be amisse to part the treatise of this Citie into twain, whereof the first shall containe the beginning, increase, and declination of the Citie itselfe: The second shall set foorth the erection and overthrow of the Religious houses and buildings within the same.

The Citie, when it began.

890. The author of the Brittish storie affirmeth, that one Rudhurdibras, or as (some copies write it) Lud Rudibras (a King of the Britons, almost nine hundreth yeres before the Incarnation of Christ) builded a Citie, which he called Carlem, or (as Henrie of Huntingdon in his recitall of the auncient Brittish Cities nameth it) Caer Kent, that is to say, the Citie (or rather) the chiefe Citie, of Kent.

For, in the processe of the same Hystory it appeereth in deede, that at such time as Vortiger King of the Britons intertained the Saxon Captaines Hengist and Horsa, he soiourned at Canterburie, the head Citie of all that countrie: and that prerogative it reteined in the time of the Saxons themselves also. For by the testimony of Beda and Mathew of Westminster when Augustine arrived in Kent, Canterbury was *Caput Imperii, Regis Ethelberti,* the chiefe place in 605.
all the dominion of King Ethelbert.

To this Augustine, the saide King gave (after a maner, (as I coniecture) the Lordship, or royaltie of the same citie: For I reade (as I have before shewed) that he gave him his owne Palaice, and builded another for himselfe at Reculver: and it is to be seene in the auncient Saxon lawes, that of olde time the Archbishops had their Coynage within the Citie.

I finde it also in the booke of Domesday, that King Edward the Confessour had onely one and fiftie Burgesses which yeelded him rent within this Citie, and two hundreth and twelve other persons owing him suite, and that the Castle of Canterbury and the residue of the inhabitaunts were subiect to the Bishop and to the Religious houses. Howbeit, the Bishops were never absolute owners heereof, till the time of King William Rufus, who (as the Annales of Saint Augustine say) *Dedit civitatem Cantuariæ Anselmo ex solido, quam Lanfrancus tenuerat ex beneficio:* Gave the citie of Canterburie to Anselme wholy, which Lanfranc before held but of courtesie.

King Henrie the Thirde, at his comming to full age, graunted unto the citizens sundrie liberties, ordeined their government under two Bailifs, and made them

his fee fermors thereof, under the reservation of three score pound by yeere.

This Citie (since the union of the Kentishe kingdome to the West Saxon) hath beene chiefly mainteined by two things: First, by the residence and hospitalitie of the Archbishop and Religious persons, and then by the liberalitie and expence of such, as either gadded to Sainct Thomas for helpe and devotion, or travailed towardes the Sea side for their private affaires and businesse.

Amongst the Bishops, Theodore, a Grecian borne, and the seventh and last of those that came out of Italy: Lanfranc the first Norman, advaunced by the Conquerour: and Simon Sudburie, that lived under King Edward the Third, have been the most beneficiall unto it.

The olde Schoole at Canterbury.

Of the which, Theodore, by licence of Vitelianus (then Pope) founded within the Citie, a Schoole (or College) wherein he placed Professours of all the liberall Sciences, which also was the verie patern to that Schoole which Sigbert the King of Eastangle afterward builded: but whether that were at Cambridge, or at some other place besides within his kingdome, I leave to Doctour Caius of Cambridg, and Maister Key of Oxford, to be disputed, and to indifferent Readers to be adiudged.

The late Reverend father Mathew, Archbishop of Canterburie (whose care for conservation of learned Monuments can never be sufficiently commended) shewed me, the Psalter of David, and sundrie Homelies in Greeke, Homer also, and some other Greeke authours, beautifully written in thicke paper, with the name of this Theodore prefixed, to whose Llbrarie,

he reasonably thought (being thereto led by shew of great antiquitie) that they sometime belonged.

The other two, Lanfranc, and Simon of Sudbury did cost upon the gates and walles, bringing thereby bothe strength and beautie to the Citie. And of these, Simon raised the wall (and tower) from the West gate to the Northe. Howbeit the citie was not wholy walled by their time: For King Richarde the Seconde gave 250. markes (saieth Thorne) towards the ditching and inclosing thereof: and for want of Walles, Simon Burley (Wardein of the five portes) advised, that the Jewels of Christes church and S. Augustines, should for more safetie be remooved to Dover castle.

Such was then the first beginning, and increase of Canterbury: Let us now see also, what harmes it hath susteined, and to what decay it is falne. Besides sundry particular harmes, done to divers of the Religious places, the towne it selfe hath often received detriment by casualtie of fire. For the author of the additions to the Chronicle of Asserus Mencuensis affirmeth, that about the yeere after Christ seven hundreth fiftie and foure, it was sore wasted with fire. Againe, in the yeere nine hundreth and eighteene, Aelfleda (the mighty Lady of Mercia) besieging and burning the citie it selfe, spoiled, killed, and expulsed the Danes that then possessed it: In revenge whereof, they afterward, about the end of the reigne of King Ethelred, did not onely besiege, take, and burne this citie, but also put to most barbarous and cruell death, Alphegus the Archbishop, for that he refused to charge his farmours and the citizens towardes his raunsome above their abilitie: and they slue of the Monkes, Townesmen, and other common people, the whole

754.

1011.

nines throughout the multitude, reserving on live the tenthe man onely: So that they left of all the Monkes but foure, and of the Lay people foure thousand and eight hundred. Where (by the way) it is to be noted, that this citie, and the country thereabouts (the people wherof belike fled thither for succour) was at that time very populous, having to loose (upon this accompt) fortie three thousand and two hundreth persons: in which behalfe, there want not some (I wote well) which doe affirme, that it had then more store of build-
1009. ings than London it selfe. And truely it is well knowne, that they were very riche at Canterbury also: for not long before (by the advise of Siricius, their Archbishop) they bought their peace at the handes of the Danes, with thirty thousand pounds of ready money. But let me proceede: fourthly, in the daies of King Henrie the Seconde, even the same yeere in
1161. which Thomas Becket was elected the Archbishop, this citie of Canterbury was wholy consumed with fire: And now lately and lastly, in the reigne of King Henrie the Eight, it was in some parts blasted with flame, wherein (amongst other things) divers good bookes, which a Monke of S. Augustines had brought from beyonde the Seas, were brought to ashes.

I had almost forgotten a storie in Beda, where he maketh *Mellitum mendacium* (mention of Mellitus, I should have saide) and reporteth, that when as (upon a time) a great parte of this Citie was touched with fire, and that the flame hasted towarde the house of this Mellitus (then Archbishop there) he commanded, that they should beare him against it even into the greatest furie thereof: And that whereas before it coulde not be quenched by any water (though never so

plentiously poured upon it) forthwith at his presence the wind turned about, and at the vehemencie of his prayer, the fire not onely ceased to go any further, but also immediately went out and was extinguished.

I wote well, this writer is called Venerabilis: but when I read this, and a number of such, which make the one halfe of his worke, I say with my selfe as sometime did the Poet,

Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi:

What ever thing thou shewest me so,
I hate it as a lye.

The decay of Canterbury, and other places.

To proceede therefore in my former course, and to tell the trueth: little had all these casualties of fire and flame beene to the decay of this towne, had not the dissolution and final overthrow of the Religious houses also come upon it. For, where wealth is at commaundement, how easily are buildings repaired? and where opinion of great holynesse is, how soone are cities and townes advaunced to great estimation and riches?

And therefore, no marvaile, if wealth withdrawn, and opinion of holynesse remooved, the places tumble headlong to ruine and decay.

In which part, as I cannot on the one side, but in respecte of the places themselves pitie and lament this generall decay, not onely in this Shyre, but in all other places of the Realme also: So on the other side, considering the maine Seas of sinne and iniquitie, wherein the worlde (at those daies) was almost wholy drenched, I must needes take cause, highly to praise God that hath thus mercifully in our age delivered us,

disclosed Satan, unmasked these Idoles, dissolved their Synagogs, and raced to the grounde all monuments of building erected to superstition and ungodlynesse.

And therefore, let every godly man ceasse with me from henceforth to marvaile, why Canterbury, Walsingham, and sundry such like, are now in these our daies becom in maner waste, since God in times past was in them blasphemed moste: And let the souldiours of Satan and superstitious Mawmetrie, howle, and cry out with the heathen Poet,

Excessere omnes, aditis, arisque relictis,
Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat, &c.

The Gods each one, by whose good ayde
this Empire stoode upright,
Are flowne: their entries, and their altars eke, abandond quight.

For, seeing God in all ages hath not spared to extend his vengeaunce, not onely upon the persons, but upon the places also where his name was dishonoured, striking the same with solitude and exterminion, as as we reade of Sodome, Ierusalem, and others: How then shoulde he forbeare these harborowes of the Devil and the Pope? which in horrible crimes contended with Sodome, in unbeliefe matched Ierusalem, and in folly of superstition exceeded all Gentilitie. By the iust iudgment of God therefore, Canterbury came suddenly from great welth, multitude of inhabitants, and beautiful buildings, to extreme povertie, nakednes, and decay: having at this day Parishes, more in number, than well filled, and yet in all not above

twelve or fourteene: in which plight, for pitie I will leave it, and (referring you to the statutes 32. and 33. of Henrie the Eight, provided for the reedifying of decaied houses, as wel in this Citie, as also in Rochester, Feversham, and the five ports) I will turne mee to the Historie of the Religious buildings.

Continuall contention between the two great houses in Canterbury.

There was in Canterbury, within the time of late memorie (besides others) two houses of great estimation and lyvelyhoode: the one being called Christes church, and the other Saint Augustines: the Monkes of the which places, were as farre removed from all mutuall love and societie, as the houses themselves were neare linked together, either in regarde of the time of their foundation, the order of their profession, or the place of their situation: And therefore in this part it might wel be verified of them, which was wont to be commonly saide,

Unicum Arbustum, non alit duos Erithacos.

One Cherry tree sufficeth not two Iays.

For indeede, one whole Citie, nay rather one whole Shyre and countrie, could hardly suffice the pride and ambitious avarice of such two irreligious Synagogues: The which, as in all places they agreed to enriche themselves by the spoile of the Laitie: So in no place agreed they one with another: But (each seeking every where, and by all waies, to advaunce themselves) they moved continuall (and that more fierce and deadly) warre, for landes, privileges, reliques, and such like vaine worldly preeminences: insomuch as he that will observe it, shall finde that universally the Chronicles of their owne houses, conteine (for the moste part)

nothing else, but suing for exemptions, procuring of reliques, strugling for offices, wrangling for consecrations, and pleading for lands and possessions. For proofe whereof, I might iustly alledge innumerable brawles, stirred betweene the Religious houses of this Citie, wrastling sometime with the Kings, sometime with the Archbishops, and oftentimes the one with the other, all which be at large set foorth by Thomas Spot the Chronicler of Saint Augustines. But for as much as I my selfe delight little in that kinde of rehersall, and doe thinke that other men (for the more part of the wiser sort) be sufficiently persuaded of these their follies, I will lightly passe them over, and labour more largely in same other thing. And bicause that the Monasterie or Priorie of Christes churche was of the more fame, I will first begin with it.

Christes Churche in Canterbury.

After that Augustine (the Monke which was sent from Rome) had found such favour in the sight of King Ethelbert, that he might freely preach the Gospell in his countrie, he chose for assemblie and praier, an olde Church in the East part of this citie, which was long time before builded by the Romanes, and he made therof (by licence of the King) a Church for himselfe and his successors, dedicating the same to the name of our Saviour Christ, wherof it was called afterward, Christes church.

After his death, Laurence his successor, brought Monks into the house, the head whereof was called a Prior, which woorde (howsoever it soundeth) was in deede but the name of a seconde officer, bicause the Bishop himselfe was accompted the very Abbat. For in olde time, the Bishops were for the moste parte chosen out of such Monasteries, and therefore most

commonly had their Palaces adioyning, and governed as Abbats there: by means whereof it came to passe, that such Abbies were not onely much amplified in wealth and possessions, but also by favour of the Bishops, their good Abbats, overlooked all their neare neighbours, as hereafter in further course shall better appeere.

I finde not, that from that time anie great cost was done upon this Churche, till Lanfrancs daies, who not onely builded it almost wholy of new, and placed Benedict Monkes therein, the number of which he advaunced from thirty to one hundreth and forty, but also he restored 25. Manors which had beene withholden from this house, he erected certaine Hospitals which he endowed with one hundreth and forty poundes by yeere, and he repaired the walles of the Citie it selfe. 1099.

And heere by the way, it is to be noted out of Mathew Westminster, that there were Monkes in this house, ever since the time of Laurence the seconde Archbishop, against the opinion of some, which report that Elfricus was the first that expulsed the Secular Priestes, and brought the Monkes into their place. 988.

Not long after Lanfrancs time succeeded William Corboile, during whose government this lately advaunced building was blasted with flame, but he soone after reedified it of his owne purse, and dedicated it with great pompe and solemnitie, in the presence of the King and his Nobles. After him followed Theobaldus, whom Pope Innocent the Second honoured with the title of *Legatus natus:* and then commeth Thomas Becket, the fift in order after Lanfranc, by 1130.

Thomas Becket, the Archbishop, and his historie.

whose life, death, and buriall, the estimation of this Church was advaunced beyond all reason, measure, and wonder.

For, notwithstanding that it had beene before that time honoured with the arme of Saint Bartholmew, a Relique that King Canutus gave: with the presence of Augustine that brought in Religion: with the buriall
725. of 8. Kentish Kings, that succeeded Wightred, and of a great number of Archbishops after the time of Cuthbert: Likewise afterwarde with the famous assemblie at the homage done by the Scottish King William, to King Henrie the Second, and at the Coronation of King Iohn: with the severall Marriages
1202. also of King Henrie the Thirde, and King Edwarde the First: and finally with the interrements of that
1236. Noble Edward (called commonly the Black Prince) and of King Henrie the Fourth: yet the death of this
1299. one man not martyred (as they feigne, for the cause onely, and not the death, maketh a Martyr) but murdered in his Churche, brought thereunto more accesse of estimation and reverence, than all that ever was done before, or since.

1376. For, after his death, by reason that the Pope had canonized his soule in Heaven, and that Stephan
1413. Langton had made a Golden shrine for his body on earth, and commaunded the Annuall day of his departure to be kept solemne, not onely the Lay and common sort of people, but Bishops, Noble men, and Princes, as well of this Realme as of foreigne partes resorted on Pilgrimage to his tumbe, and flocked to
1228. his Jubile for remission: In so much, that every man offering according to his abilitie, and thronging to see, handle, and kisse, even the vilest partes of his Re-

liques, the Churche became so riche in Jewels and ornaments, that it might compare with Midas, or Crœsus, and so famous and renowmed (every piller resounding S. Thomas, his miracles, praiers, and pardons) that now the name of Christ was cleane forgotten, and the place was commonly called, Saint Thomas Church of Canterbury.

I passe over the stately buildings, and monuments (I meane, Churches, Chapels, and Oratories) raised to his name: the lewd bookes of his life, and iestes, written by foure sundry persons to his praise: the blasphemous Hymnes, and Collects, devised by Churchmen for his service: and sundrie such other things, which as they were at the first invented to strike into the heads of all hearers and beholders, more than wonderfull opinion of devotion and holinesie: So now (the trueth being tried out, and the matter well and indifferently weighed) they ought to worke with all men, an utter detestation, both of his, and all their, hypocrisie and wickednesse.

For, as touching himselfe (to omitte that which truely might be spoken in dispraise of the former part of his life, and to begin with the very matter it selfe whereupon his death ensued) it is evident, both by the testimonie of Mathew Paris (a very good Chronicler, that lived under King Henrie the Third) and by the foure *Pseudo Evangelists* themselves that wrote his Iestes, that the chiefe cause of the Kings displeasure towards him grew upon occasion, that he opposed himselfe against his Prince, (Gods lawfull and Supreme minister on earth) in maintenance of a most vile and wicked murther, The matter stood thus.

1146. Within a few of the first yeeres of King Henrie the Seconds Reigne, the Clergie of the Realm had committed above a hundreth severall murthers upon his subiects, as it was infourmed him: for remedie of which outrage, the King (by assent of his Nobilitie and Bishops, of which number Thomas Becket himself was one) tooke order at Clarendowne, that if any
1164. Clerke from thencefoorth committed felony, or treason, he should first be degraded, and afterwarde delivered to the Lay power, there to receive as to his offence belonged.

Not long after, it chaunced one Philip Broic (a Chanon of Bedforde) to be apprehended for murther, and to be brought before the temporall Iustice, where he not onely shewed no remorse of the wicked fact, but also (in hope of Ecclesiasticall exemption, for the Popes Churchmen would be ἀσυλοι for all manner of mischiefes) gave very evill language to the Iudge: the Iudge complained thereof to the King, and the Chanon (belike) had made meanes to the Archbishop also: For the King no sooner endevoured to put his Law in execution, but the Archbishop (both forgetfull of his dutie to God and Prince, and unmindefull of his owne oth) set himselfe against it, affirming plainly, that he neither could, ne would, suffer it so to be.

ἀσυλοι that is, privileged for their holynesse.

Hereupon the Prince waxed wroth, and by little and little his indignation was so kindeled (by matter that the obstinacie of the Bishop daily ministred) that in the ende it was too hote for Becket to abide it. Then speedeth he himselfe to Rome, and powreth into the Holy Fathers bosome complaint of most grievous oppression, extended against the Clergie: The Popes Holinesse, sory to discourage so good a soldiour as

the Bishop was, and withall loth to loose so mighty a friend as King Henry was: by letters and Legates praieth, commaundeth, perswadeth, and threatneth reconciliation and attonement, which (after great adoe) by the meanes of the Frenche King, and other his instruments, was in a sort brought to passe betweene them.

Then Thomas Becket returneth with the Kings favour into the Realme, from whence he had sixe yeeres been departed without licence, and therefore without (or rather against) Law, and immediately seeketh to revenge himselfe upon suche the Bishops, as had in his absence assisted the King in his enterprise. Which when the King (being then in Normandie) understood, it chaunced him (in great griefe of minde) to cast out some words, that gave occasion and hardinesse, to Reginald Beere, William Tracy, Hugh Morvill, and Richard Bryton (foure of his Gentlemen) to addresse themselves for his revenge. These foure therefore, passed the Seas, came to Canterbury, founde out the Bishop, followed him into his Church, and upon the Staires of the same, did him very cruelly and despitefully to death.

This shortly is the chiefe substance, and circumstance of all this Tragedie, drawne out of our own Countrie men, and Thomas his favourers, howsoever Erasmus (led by some sinister information) hath otherwise reported it, as shall hereafter appeere in Otford, when we come to the place.

Wherin, as I cannot on the one side allow this murther (executed, not by any publique Minister of Iustice, but by a private and injurious arm:) So on the other side, I report me to all indifferent and Godly

Readers, whether such a life deserved not such a death, and whether these Popish Parasites that have painted foorth this mans praises, make not themselves thereby parteners of all his pride and wilfull rebellion.

I might heere rest long, upon divers other things concerning the King and this Archbishop: namely, how that he suffered the King to hold his stirup twise in one day in Normandie, but in *Prato proditorum*, as Mathew Parise very pretily twiteth it: How the King came with bare and bleeding feete to Canterburie, to purge himselfe of the murther: How he bared his body to the Monkes of this house, and receaved of every Religious Person there, foure, or five stripes: in which selfe yeere (by the way) their whole church was consumed with fire: and some other matters besides, which make manifestly for the proofe of great presumption in the Clergie, and of vile abiection of the Princes, of those daies: But, bicause that I am fearefull that I grow too long, I will leave Saint Thomas himselfe, and after (a few woordes more of his Church step over to Saint Augustines.

After Thomas, this Church and Sea founde three or foure especiall mainteiners of the building: Stephan Langton, which made up the great Hall in the Bishops
1395. palace, and the faire Horologe in the South crossed Ile of the Church: William Courtney, which by his Testament bequeathed one thousand Markes towards the amendment of the bodie of the Church, the walles,
1400. and the Cloister: Thomas Arundel, which erected one of the Bell Towers, gave five Belles, and Christened them after the Popish manner: And Henrie Chicheley, who both repaired the library with bookes and building, and did great cost upon one of the Bell Towers also.

Now then to Saint Augustines. Augustine having thus established a See for himselfe and his successours, obteined further of King Ethelbert (for the better furtherance of the service, that hee had in hand) a Church, that then stood betweene the walls of the citie and Saint Martines: wherin the King himselfe used before to make his praiers, and to offer sacrifice to his Idoles: This Church, he purged from Prophane abuse and name (as they say) and dedicated it to the service of God, and to the honour of Saint Pancrace. Neither ceased he thus, but shortly after intreated the same King to build a Monasterie in the soile adioining, which he also appointed to the honour of Saint Peter and Saint Paule, and placed Monkes therein: This Monasterie, in memorie of his benefite, lost the first name, and was ever after called Saint Augustines. Saint Augustines. 603.

Now whereas the true meaning, bothe of the King and Augustine was, that this Church (for so much as both then, and long after, it was not the manner to burie their dead within the walles of any citie, a thing forbidden of olde by the lawe of the twelve tables) should be from thencefoorth a common Sepulchre to all their successours, as wel in the Kingdome, as in the Archbishopricke: yet such was the favour of the Bishops following Augustine towards their owne Church, that in the processe of time Saint Augustines was defrauded of the Sepultures, both of the one and the other. The dead, in old time were buried out of the Cities. 725.

For in Brightwaldes daies, the buriall of the Kings was taken from it: and Cuthbert the Archbishop in his life begged of King Eadbert, that for the advauncement of Saint Iohns (a new church, that he had erected for that purpose, and for the execution of iudgments 746.

by the Ordale, and which was afterward fired with the flame of Christes church whereunto it was neere adioining) the Bishops also might from thencefoorth bee buried there. And for the more suretie to attaine that his desire, hee tooke order in his life (by othe of all his Covent) that they should suffer his corpes to lye three daies in the grounde after his death, before any Bell should be roong or other open solemnitie used, that might notifie his departure to the Monkes of Saint Augustines. Onely Ieanbright the fourteenth Bishop (whome other copies call Lambright) was conveied to the ground at Saint Augustines, by this occasion.

After the death of Bregwine (the Archbishop) this Ieanbright (then being Abbat of Saint Augustines, and fearing that he should be deceived of the body of Bregwine, as Aldhun his predecessour had beene beguiled of Cuthberts before) hee came appointed with armed men, determining to take it away by force, if hee might not by faire meanes obtaine it. But the craftie Monkes of Christes church had buried the body before he came, so that he was driven to depart home frustrate of his desire, and to seeke his amendes by action in the law.

Notwithstanding, bicause they perceived heereby, that he was a man of good courage, and therefore very meete in their opinion to be made their Captaine, they shortly after chose him Archbishop, in hope that he would have mainteined their quarrell: but he nevertheless tooke such order, that he was buried in Saint Augustines with the rest of his predecessours.

Popishe braules.

Thus you see, how soone after the foundation, these houses were at dissention, and for how small trifles, they were ready to put on armes, and to move great

and troublesome tragedies: Neither doe I finde, that ever they agreed after, but were evermore at continuall brawling within themselves, either suing before the King, or appealing to the Pope, and that for matters of more stomacke, than importance: As for example, whether the Abbat of S. Augustines shoulde bee consecrate or blessed in his own church, or in the others: whether he ought to ring his belles to service, before the other had roong theirs: whether he and his tenaunts ought suite to the Bishops Court: and such like, wherein it cannot be doubted, but that they consumed inestimable treasure, for maintenance of their most Popish pride and wilfulnesse. If any man delight to knowe the particulars, let him reade the writings of Thorne and Spot, their owne Chroniclers: as for my selfe, I thinke it too long to have saide thus much in generall, and therfore will haste me to the rest.

After the death of King Ethelbert, Eadbaldus (his sonne) at the instance of Laurence the Archbishop, builded a faire Churche in this Monasterie, which he called Saint Maries. In which place many yeeres after (if at the least you will beleeve Thomas Spot) Saint Dunstane sensibly heard and sawe, our Lady, St. Adrian, and a sort of Angels, singing and dauncing together. 618. S. Maries in Canterbury.

After Eadbaldus, King Canute (the great Monarch of this realme) Egilsine (the Abbat that fled for feare of the Conqueror) Scotlandus (whom the same King put in Egilsines place) Hugo de Floriaco (that was of kinred to King William Rufus, and by him made Abbat) were the persons that chiefly increased the building: some bestowing Churches and Chapels: some Dorters and dyning places, and others other 1017. 1059. 1070. 1099.

sortes of edifices. The Saints, whose dead bodies and reliques brought to this church great veneration and gaine, were these specially, Adryan, Albin, Iohn, &c. religious persons: Eadbald, Lothar, Mull, and Wightred, sometime Kings: S. Sexburge, and Saint Myldred of Thanet, (whose bodie was given them by King Canute) And Saint Augustine their first friende and founder.

The Saints and Reliques, at Canterburie.

Of this last man (to let slip a many of others) this one myracle they report: that at such time as the Danes entred Kent, and (spoyling this Citie) ransacked almost everie corner thereof, this house of Saint Augustines (onely of all other) was never touched, By reason (say they) that when a Dane had taken holde of S. Augustines Pall (or cloke) wherewith his tombe was covered, it stacke so faste to his fingers, that by no meanes possible he could loose it, till he came and yeelded himselfe to the Monkes, and made sorrowfull confession of his faulte.

S. Augustines.

1011.

Much like to this, it is written, that at the overthrow of Carthage, the hand of one that woulde have spoiled the God Apollo of his Mantell, was found amongst the fragments. This our good fellow was not so cunning (belike) as Dionysius was: for he tooke a golden cloke from Iupiter, and had no hurt at all thereby. But either this our Pall was weaved *Ex auro Tholosano*, or else (which I rather beleeve) this Canterbury tale was forged *A rabula Romano*.

Besides all these, the Monkes seeing how little their reliques were esteemed, in comparison of Thomas Beckets, and beleeving (as the Romanes sometimes did of *Dea Pessenuntia*) that their house should be highly advaunced, if they might get thither so glorious

a God as he was, they made a foule shift for a peece of him also.

There was a Monke of Christes church, called Roger, who had in charge to keepe the Altar where Becket was slaine. This man they chose to their Abbat, in hope (saith mine authour) that he woulde bring somewhat with him: in which dooing they were not altogither deceived, For he conveyed to them a great part of Thomas his bloude that was shed, and a peece of his Crown that was pared off. 1176.

Thomas Becket had two heads.

But here by the way, marke (I beseech you) the grosse iugling that these slowe bellyed Syres used to delude the world withall. Erasmus (in his Colloquies) writeth, that the whole face of Saint Thomas, being sumptuously set in golde, was religiously kept within a Chapell beyonde the high altar, and that they tolde him the rest of the body lay in a shrine, of golde and of great Maiestie, which they shewed besides.

But the truth is, that at such time as the late godly and moste Christian Archbishop Cranmer, and the wise and noble counsellor Cromwell, were at Canterbury, in commission for defacing of this Shrine, they found an entier body, and complete in all his partes within the same, as some lately on live, and then present, did testifie: so that either this their great God, was a Bishop Biceps, and lacked but one head more to make him Cerberus, or Chimæra: or else (which is most certaine) these Monks were marveylous and monstruous magnifiers, of such deceivable trumperie, and wanted nothing at all to make them, *Cretenses*, or *Cecropes*.

But to my purpose againe: as touching the privileges, possessions, estimation, and maiestie of this

house, it were too much to recite the one halfe, and therefore I will onely let you know, that of auncient time the Abbat had allowance of a Coynage (or Mynte)
1056. within himselfe, by graunt of King Ethelstane: That he had place in the general councell, by gift of the Pope Leo: That the house had five Covents, conteining in all, sixtie five Monks: And finally, that (besides iurisdiction over a whole Last of thirteen Hundreds) it had possession of livelyhoode to the value of eight hundreth and eight pounds by yeere.

Now, besides these two great houses, there were in Canterbury some other also of lesse note: as Saint
S. Gregories in Canterbury. Gregories (a Church of Chanons, belonging to the Hospitall that Lanfranc built) which was fired in the time of King Stephan, and was valued in the Recordes,
1145. at thirty poundes by the yeere: The Hospital of Saint
S. Laurences Hospitall. Laurence, edified by Hugh (the Abbat of Saint Augustines) for his sicke Monkes, and rated at twenty
S. Iames Hospitall. poundes yeerely: S. Iames Hospitall, erected by Eleonor, the wife of King Henrie the Thirde: Saint
S. Sepulchres. Sepulchres, a house of Nonnes, prepared (belike) to serve the necessitie of the hoat Monks, esteemed at
1207. twelve pounds by yeere: The White Friars, translated
White Friers. by one Iohn Digge, to the Isle of Bynwhite, lately the
S. Mildreds. house of one Rolph: and S. Mildreds in the South side of the Citie, long since (but not lately) an Abbay.

The Bishops Palaice. There is extant in Canterbury also, the auncient and stately Palaice of the Archbishops, not that which King Ethelbert first gave to Augustine at Staplegate, for it was but a meane dwelling, answerable to his small company and first beginnings, but the very same which he secondly bestowed on him (when he left Canterbury,
1193. and went to Reculver) which was his owne, and his predecessours, the Kings stately Court and Palaice.

This house, by that time Hubert the Archbishop had aspired to the See, was decaied, either by age, or flame, or bothe: Who therefore pulled downe the most part of it, and in place thereof laide the foundation of that great Hall, and other the offices, that are now to be seene: But by reason that himself wanted time (prevented by death) and some of his followers lacked money (having otherwise bestowed it lavishly) to perform the worke, it rested unperfect till the daies of Boniface, who both substantially, and beautifully finished the whole: and yet (as some thinke) Stephan Langton had accomplished the great Hall thereof before him.

Lastly, a little without the East wall of all the citie stood S. Martines, where was sometime an auncient Church erected by the Romanes, in which (before the comming of Augustine) Bertha, the wife of King Ethelbert, having received the Religion of Christ before him, was accustomed to pray. In this small Oratorie, Augustine (by the Kings permission) celebrated divine service, and administred the Sacraments, untill that by further taste of the Kings favour, he obtained larger roome to build his Monasterie upon. And this Church was long time after, even untill the comming in of the Normans, the See of a Bishop, who (alwaies remaining in the countrie) supplied the absence of the Metropolitane, that for the most part followed the Court: and that, as well in governing the Monkes, as in perfourming the solemnities of the Church, and in exercising the authoritie of an Archdeacon. 1250. S. Martines was a Bishops See.

Godwine was the last which sate in that chaire, after whose death, Lanfranc (being as ielouse of a partner

in his spirituall Hierarchie, as ever was Alexander in his temporall Empire) refused to consecrate any other, affirming plainly, that Two Bishops were too many for one Citie. Neverthelesse, bicause he needed the helpe of a substitute, he created in place thereof, one of his owne Chaplaines, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

HAKINGTON, *alias* Sainct Stephens, *in Saxon* Þæzainz-tun, *that is,* the Lowe towne, *where Hawes (or Whitethornes) doe growe.*

S. Stephens by Canterbury.

BALDWINE (an Archbishop of Canterbury under the reigne of King Henrie the Second) minding to advaunce the estimation of Thomas Becket his lately murthered predecessor, and withal to make himselfe memorable to posterity, thought this one way the best for obtaining his double desire: namely, to build some stately Church Monument, and to match in the patronage thereof, Thomas that Prototraitour and rebell to his Prince, with Stephan the Protomartyr and true servaunt of Almighty God.

For which purpose, and to the ende that his acte might have the more countenaunce and credite, he obtained a licence from Pope Urban, in this forme as Mathewe Parise reporteth it. *Præsentium tibi authoritate mandamus, ut liceat tibi Ecclesiam in honorem beatorum Stephani, & Thomæ, martyrum, constituere, & idoneis eam ordinare personis, quibus beneficia quæ ad eorum sustentationem constitueris, canonicè debeas assignare. Item mandamus, ut quarta parte oblationum, reliquiis Sancti Thomæ monachorum usibus*

concessa, quarta fabricis ecclesiæ deputata, quarta pauperibus deputata, quartam portionem reliquam liceat tibi in alios usus, pro tuæ voluntatis arbitrio, erogare, &c.

The Monks contend with the Archbishop, and doe prevaile.

This done, he pulled downe an old timber Chapell that stood at Hakington, and began to raise in place thereof, a faire church of hewed stone. But for as much as not only the charge to furnish that present building was fetched from Saint Thomas offering at Canterbury (muche to the decay of the Monkes gaine) but also the yeerely maintenance therof was to be drawne from the same Hanaper, and to be bestowed upon certain Secular Chanons (a sort of religious that Monkes ever maliced) who yet might happily in time to come be made equall with the Monkes themselves in the election of the Archbishoppe, to the generall discredite of their holy order, and utter violation of their former Privileges: therefore the Covent of Christs churche, thinking it fit to withstande such beginnings, complained hereof to Pope Innocents holynesse (for Urban was then dead) and were so well heard in their suite, that the Archbishops building was countermaunded, and hee (with forced patience) constrained to cease the worke.

Neverthelesse, having hope, that if the thing were by great distance of place remooved out of the Monkes eie, he might with better quiet bring his desire to the wished effect, hee attempted the like platforme at Lambhithe, his owne house neare London: But before he had finished that worke, he went into the holy Lande with King Richarde the First, and died without returne, in whiche meane while, the Chapell of Hakington, being destitute of her Patrone, was quite and cleane demolished.

Hubert succeeded Baldwine in the See, and put his hande to perfourme the building at Lambhithe that his predecessour had begonne, but the Monks (fearing still the former inconvenience) intercepted the whole profites of Sainct Thomas offering, renewed their suite at Rome, and (feeding the Pope with that which shoulde have mainteined the building) made his holy ears so attentive, that he became wholy of the Monkes devotion, and compelled Hubert at his own dispense, and to his great despight, (Mauger his Myter) to race that Chapell also, and to make it equall with the ground.

And thus you may see, how the envious Monks
1199. hindered the felicity of Hakington, which otherwise by this kinde of spirituall robberie) might in time have prooved as famous as Boxley, Walsingham, or any other Denne of Idolatrie, whereas then it was with much adoe, and great difficultie obteined, that a poore Chapell (served with a single Sir Iohn, and destitute, both of Font, and Churchyard) might remaine standing in the place. Howbeit since that time, (by what grace I wot not) it is become the Parish church for the inhabitants there, and in memorie of that, which it would faine have beene, is yet commonly called Saint Stephens. The parsonage house there hath met with three good benefactors, Warham the Archbishop, and Warham the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Sir Roger Manwood the late learned Arche or Chief Baron of the Escheaquer, which last man procured some amendement to the Ministers living, and left maintenance for certaine poore persons there.

I finde in a Note (given unto mee by my good Friend Master Francis Thyn) that King Edward the Thirde, at his returne from dooing his Homage to the Frenche King, held an exercise at the Tilt, in this Hackington.

HARBALDOWNE *by* Canterbury, *in Saxon* Þeɹebelæp-ðune, *that is, the Hill where the armie was betraied.*

SUCH hath been the nature of man, even from that time (in which not contenting himselfe to abide man, but aspiring by knowledge of good and evill to become God, he defaced the Image of his Creator, to the similitude of whom he was created) that he hath continually ever since, and that in matters concerning God, more trusted his own wit, than the wisedom of God himselfe, better liked his own invention, than Gods holy institution, and preferred will worship, devised of his own braine, before reverent religion inioined by the mouth of the Almightie. And such also hath beene the continuall craft of Sathan, his sworne enimie, that (seeing him thus addicted to vanitie and rebellion) he hath laboured from time to time to feede his evill humour, suggesting innumerable (and those most subtile) sleights to withdrawe him from God and drawe him to Idolatrie and superstition: So that in time by policie of the one, and pronenesse in the other, it was by degrees brought to passe, that not onely the excellent and glorious creatures of God, the Angels and men (I meane) the Sunne and Moone, the Stars and Elements, were worshipped as Gods, But also, divine honour and reverence was transferred from the highest God, to the most inferiour and basest partes of all his workemanship, the worlde at the length becomming so mad, that it would crouche and kneele, kisse and knocke, bowe, bend, and make all signes of honour and reverence, not onely to stockes and

The vanity of Man, and the subtilty of the Devill, be the cause of Idolatrie.

stones (that represented the bodies of mortall men) but to whatsoever trifle, trumperie, or bagage besides, that the Divell or his ministers would have preferred as a monument or relique of them.

And therefore, no marvaile was it, if God (seeing the world to abuse it selfe after a most froward and perverse kinde of superstition) did by his iust vengeaunce bereave unbeleevers of all understanding and iudgement, so that (without any further doubt, or inquisition) they sticked not to embrace devoutly, whatsoever was commended, were it never so lewdly.

For example heereof, beholde heere at Harbaldowne (an Hospitall builded by Lanfranc the Archbishop, for reliefe of the poore and diseased) the shamefull Idolatrie of this latter age, committed by abusing the lips (which God hath given for the sounding foorth of his praise) in smacking and kissing the upper leather of an olde shoe, reserved for a Relique, and unreverently offered to as many as passed by.

S. Thomas Beckets Relique.

Erasmus, setting foorth (in his Dialogue intituled, *Peregrinatio religionis ergô*) under the name of one Ogygius, his owne travaile to visite our Ladie of Walsingham and S. Thomas Becket, sheweth that in his returne from Canterburie towards London, he found (on the high way side) an Hospitall of certaine poore folkes, of which, one came out against him and his companie, holding a holy water sprinkle in the one hand, and bearing the upper leather of an old shoe (faire set in Copper and Christall) in the other hand.

This doting father, first cast holy water upon them, and then offered them (by one and one) the holy shoe to kisse: Whereat as the most part of the company (knowing the manner) made no refusall: So amongst

the rest one Gratianus (as he faineth) offended with the follie, asked (halfe in anger) what it was: Saint Thomas Shoe, quoth the olde man: with that Gratianus turned him to the company, and said: *Quid sibi volunt hæ pecudes, ut osculemur calceos omnium bonorum Virorum? Quin eadem opera porrigunt osculandum sputum, aliaque corporis excrementa?* What meane these beasts, that we shoulde kisse the shoes of all good men? why doe they not, by the same reason offer us their Spittle, and other excrements of the body to be kissed? This to the wiser sorte, and such as have any light, may suffice for the understanding of Erasmus opinion and iudgement touching such unreverent Reliques: but yet least some blinde and wilfull worshipper should thinke it but merily spoken of him, and in another mans person as (in deede Erasmus had many times *Dextrum pedem in calceo, sinistrum in pelui,* according to the olde Proverbe) I will likewise adde a few wordes, used in the ende of his booke, for explication of his owne full minde in that matter. *Notantur, qui reliquias incertas pro certis ostendunt, qui his plus tribuunt quam oportet, & qui quæstum ex his sordidè faciunt.* In this Dialogue all such are taxed, which shewe unto the people uncertaine reliques, for true and certaine: or which doe ascribe unto them more than of right is due: or which doe raise filthie gaine and lucre by them.

But peradventure the authoritie of D. Erasmus is now (since the late Tridentine Councell) of no weight with them, since by the sentence of the same his workes without choice be condemned as Hereticall. Truly, that Councell shewed it selfe more hastie to suppresse all the good workes of Godly men, than readie to cor-

rect or abolish any of their owne fabulous bookes or superstitious follies. And therefore let indifferent men iudge, whether the opinion of any one true speaking man, be not worthily to be preferred before the determination of such a whole unadvised Synode. And as for suche as in this light of the trueth, will shew themselves mainteiners of such Mawmetrie, I deeme them like the Sabees, whose senses (as Strabo writeth) are offended with sweete smelling savours, and delighted with the filthy smoke of burned goates haire, and therefore I say unto them, *Sordescant adhuc*, and so will leave them.

NORWOOD, *that is to say, the Northwood.*

IN the daies of King Edward the Confessor, one hundreth Burgesses of the City of Canterbury ought their suite to the Manor of Norwood, as in that part of the booke of Domesday which concerneth Kent may yet most evidently appeere.

The building is now lately demolished, but the Manor was long time in the possession of certaine Gentlemen of the same name, of which race, one lieth buried in the body of the church at Adington, in the yeere a thousand foure hundreth and sixteene. And of another you shall finde mention hereafter, in the latter ende of the Texte of the Kentish customes.

The olde maner of naming men.

And hereby it is probably (as me thinketh) to be coniectured, that in auncient time, men were usually named of the places of their dwelling. For, whereas before the comming in of the Conquerour, places (for

the most part) had their appellations, either of their situation, or of some notable accident, or noble man: as Northwood in regarde of Southewood, Anglesford by reason of the flight of the Englishmen, and Rochester bicause of Rof: And wheras persons also, had their callings (most commonly) either of some note of the body, as Swanshalfe, for the whitenesse of her necke: or for some propertie of the minde, as Godred, for his good counsell: and that by one single Surname onely and no more: now, immediately after the arrivall of the Normans (which obtained those lands, and which first brought into this Realme, the names of Thomas, Iohn, Nicholas, Fraunces, Stephan, Henrie, and such like, that now be most usuall) men began to be knowen and surnamed, not of their conditions and properties, but of their dwellings and possessions.

So the Norman that was before Thomas, and had gotten the Towneship of Norton, Sutton, Inglefielde, or Combe, was thencefoorth called, Thomas of Norton, of Sutton, of Inglefielde, of Combe, or such like, all which be (undoubtedly) the names of places, and not of persons. Neither did the matter stay here, but in further processe of time, this Thomas of Norton, of Sutton, or of Combe, was called Thomas Norton, Thomas Sutton, or Thomas Combe, leaving out the particle (of) which before denoted his dwelling place.

And thus (the Norman manner prevailing) the auncient custome of the Saxons and Englishe men vanished quite out of ure.

This whole thing is best discerned by auncient evidences, and by the names of our Chesshyremen yet remaining. For, olde writings have commonly *Ioannes de Norton, Wilhelmus de Sutton,* For such as we

call now Iohn Norton, and William Sutton: and amongst the Gentlemen of Chesshrye (even to this day) one is called (after their manner) Thomas a Bruerton, another Iohn a Holcrost, and such like, for Thomas Bruerton, Iohn Holcrost, &c. as we heere use it. Thus much shortly of mine owne fantasie I thought not unmeete to impart, by occasion of the name of Norwood, and now forwarde againe.

Lenham: *in Latine,* Durolenum, *that is, the Water at* Lenam.

Master Camden (removing the corruption of writing *Duroleuum,* for *Durolenum)* hath (as in manye other) brought much light to the understanding of this place: most strongly prooving, both by the remaines of the olde name, by the situation at the water, and true distance from other places, that it is the same, which Antoninus in his *Itinerarie,* termeth *Durolenum.*

Kenulfe the King of Mercia, and Cudred the King
804. of Kent, by their ioint guift bestowed it upon the Abbay, of Saint Augustines (more truly of Peter and
850. Paule) in Canterbury: which Ethelwulfe King of Kent and of Westsexe afterwardes confirmed: and thirdly Edgive the wife of King Edgar ratified the same in the time of Dunstane the Archbishop. I finde noted, by William Byholte, a Monke of that house, that long since it had market upon the Tuesday, which even to this day it enioieth.

LEEDES, *in Latine of some* Lodanum, *of others* Ledanum Castrum.

ROBERT Creuequer, was one of the eight that Iohn Fynes elected for his assistance in the defence of Dover Castle (as we have already shewed) who, taking for that cause the Manor of Leedes, and undertaking to finde five Warders therefore, builded this Castle, or at the least, another that stoode in the place. For I have read, that Edward (then Prince of Wales, and afterward the first King of that name) being Wardeine of the Five Portes and Constable of Dover in the life of Henrie the Third his Father, caused Henrie Cobham (whose ministerie he used, as a substitute in bothe those offices) to race the Castle that Robert Creuequer had erected, bicause Creuequer (that was then owner of it, and Heire to Robert) was of the number of the Nobles that moved and mainteined warre against him. Which, whether it be true, or no, I will not affirme, but yet I thinke it very likely, bothe bicause Badlesmere (a man of another name) became Lord of Leedes shortly after (as you shall anone see) and also for that the present worke at Leedes pretendeth not the antiquitie of so many yeeres, as are passed since the age of the conquest. But let us leave the Building, and goe in hand with the storie.

King Henrie the First, having none other issue of his bodie than Maude (first married to Henrie the Emperour, whereof she was called the Empresse, and after coupled to Geffray Plantaginet the Earle of An-

Maude the Empresse, true Heire to the Crowne.

geow) and fearing (as it happened in deede) that after his death trouble might arise in the Realme, about the inheritance of the Crowne, bicause she was by habitation a straunger and farre off, so that she might want both force and friendes to atchieve her right: And for that also Stephan (the Earle of Boloine, his sisters sonne) was then of great estimation amongst the noble men, and abiding within the Realme, so that with great advantage, he might offer her wrong: he procured (in full Parleament) the assent of his Lords and Commons, that Maude and her heires should succeede in the kingdome after him. And to the ende, that this limitation of his might be the more surely established, he tooke the fidelitie and promise by othe, bothe of his Clergie and Laytie, and of the Earle of Boloine himselfe.

Howbeit, immediately after his decease, Stephan being of the opinion, that *Si jus violandum est, certè regnandi causa violandum est,*

If breache of lawes, a man shall undertake,
He may them boldly breake, for kingdoms sake)

Invaded the Crowne, and by the advice of William the Archbishop of Canterbury (who had first of all given his faith to Maude) by the favour of the common people (which adheared unto him) and by the consent of the holy father of Rome (whose will never wanteth to the furtherance of mischiefe) he obtained it: which neverthelesse (as William of Newborowe well noteth) being gotten by periurie, he held not past two yeeres in peace, but spent the residue of his whole reigne in dissention, warre, and bloudshed: to the great offence of God, the manifeste iniurie of his owne cousine, and the grievous vexation of this countrie and people.

For soone after the beginning of his reigne, sundry of the Noble men, partly upon remorse of their former promise made, and partly for displeasure (conceived bicause he kept not the othe taken at his Coronation) made defection to Maude, so soone as ever she made her chalenge to the Crowne: So that in the ende (after many calamities) what by her owne power, and their assistaunce, she compelled him to fall to composition with her, as in the storie at large it may be seene.

Now during those his troubles, amongst other things that muche annoied him, and furthered the part of Maude his adversarie, it was upon a time sounded (by his evill willers) in the eares of the common sort, that he was dead: And therewithall suddenly divers 1137.
great men of hir devotion, betooke them to their strong holdes, and some others seised some of the Kings owne Castles to the behalfe of the Empresse: Of which number was Robert (the Earle of Gloucester, and bastarde brother to Maude) who entred this Castle of Leedes, minding to have kept it. But King Stephan used against him suche force and celeritie, that he soone wrested it out of his fingers.

King Edwarde the Seconde, that for the love of the 1318.
two Spensers, incurred the hatred of his wife and Nobilitie, gave this Castle (in exchaunge for other landes) to Bartilmew Badelesmere (then Lord Steward of his housholde) and to his heires for ever: who shortly after (entering into that troublesome action, in which Thomas, the Duke of Lancaster with his accomplices, maugre the King, exiled the Spencers) bothe lost the Kings favour, this Castle, and his life also: For, 1321.
whilste he was abroade in aide of the Barons, and had committed the custodie thereof to Thomas Colpeper,

Bartholmewe Badelesmere.

Thomas Colpeper.

and left not only his chiefe treasure in money, but also his wife and children within it for their securitie: It chaunced, that Isabel the Kings wife, minding a Pilgrimage towards Canterbury, and being overtaken with night, sent her Marshall to prepare for her lodging there. But her officer was proudly denied by the Captaine, who sticked not to tell him, that neither the Queene, ne any other, should be lodged there, without the commaundement of his Lorde the owner.

The Queene not thus answered, came to the gate in person, and required to be let in, But the Captaine most malepertly repulsed her also: in so much that shee complained greevously to the King of the misdemeanour, and he foorthwith levied a power, and personally summoned and besieged the piece so straightly, that in the end, through want of rescue and victuall, it was delivered unto him.

Then tooke he Captaine Colpeper, and hoong him up: The wife and children of the Lord Badelesmere, he sent to the Towre of London: The treasure and munition, he seised to his owne use: and the Castle he committed to such as liked him.

But, as the last acte of a Tragedie is alwaies more heavie and sorrowfull than the rest: so (calamitie and woe increasing upon him) Badelesmere himselfe was the yeere following, in the companie of the Duke of Lancaster and others, discomfited at Borowbrig by the Kings armie, and shortly after sent to Canterbury and beheaded.

I might heere iustly take occasion, to rip up the causes of those great and tragicall troubles, that grew betweene this King and his Nobilitie, for Peter Gaveston, and these two Spencers: the rather, for that the

common sorte of our English storiers doe laie the whole burthen of that fault upon the King, and those few persons: But bicause the matter is not so plaine as they make it, and withall requireth more wordes for the manifestation thereof than I may now affoorde, and for that also there is hope, that a speciall hystorie of that reigne (penned by S. Thomas Delamore, which lived in the very time it selfe) may be heereafter imprinted and made common, I will onely exhort the Reader (for his owne information in the trueth, and for some excuse of such as be overcharged) to peruse that worke, wherein (I assure him) hee shall finde matter, both very rare and credible.

The Priorie at Leedes.

As touching the Priorie at Leedes (which was a conventuall house of Regular Chanons dedicated to the name of the blessed virgin and S. Nicholas, and valued in the Recordes of the late suppression at three hundreth three score and two poundes of yeerely revenue) I finde, that one Robert Creuequer (the authour of the Castle peradventure, for this was done in the reigne of Henrie, sonne to the Conquerour) and Adam his sonne and heire, first founded it. Which thing might probably have been coniectured, although it had never been committed to Hystorie. 1119.

For in auncient time, even the greatest personages, helde Monkes, Friars, and Nonnes, in such veneration and liking, that they thought no citie in case to flourish, no house likely to have long continuance, no Castles sufficiently defensed, where was not an Abbay, Priorie, or Nonnerie, either placed within the walles, or planted at hande and neare adioining.

And surely (omitting the residue of the Realme) heereof onely it came to passe, that Dover had S.

Martines, Canterbury Christes Churche, Rochester S. Andrewes, Tunbridge the Friars, Maidstone the Chanons, Greenwiche the observants, and this our Leedes her owne Priorie.

Howbeit, I finde in a Heralds note (who belike made his coniecture, by some coate of Arms, lately apparant) that one Leybourne, an Earle of Salisburie, was the founder of it. Indeede, it is to bee seene in the Annales of Saint Augustines of Canterbury, that a noble man (called Roger Leybourn) was sometime of great authoritie within this shyre, notwithstanding that in his time hee had tasted of both fortunes: for in the daies of King Henrie the Thirde, he was first one of that coniuration which was called the Barons warre, from which faction, Edwarde the Kings sonne, wonne him by faire means to his part, and made him the bearer of his privie purse.

Afterward they agreed not upon the reckoning, so that the Prince (charging him with great arrearage of account) seised his living for satisfaction of the debt, by which occasion, Roger once more became of the Barons devotion: But after the pacification made at Kenelworth, he was eftsoones received to favour, and was made Wardein of the Five Portes, and Lieuetenant of this whole Shyre. Now, though it cannot bee true, that this man was the builder of this Priorie (for the same Annales say, that it was erected long before) yet if he did but marrie the heire, hee might truly be termed the Patrone or founder thereof: for by that name, not onely the builders themselves, but their posteritie also (to whom the glorie of their deeds did descend) were wont to be called, as well as they.

MOTINDENE, *or rather* Modindene, *in* Hedcorn: *it may be derived of* Mod *and* dene, *that is, the proude valley: a name given (as I gesse) for the fertilitie thereof.*

I HAVE read, that the order of the Crossed (or crouched) Friars did first crosse over the Seas, and came into England, about the middle part of the reigne of King Henrie the Third. The Crouched Friars.

These had their name of the Crosse, which they bare in their uppermost garment, in token that they were ready to fight for the holy Crosse as they called it. For in deede all the sortes of these Crossed companions, tooke themselves to bee the knights (or Champions) of Christendome against the Infidels: and they all professed, either openly to make, or by meanes to mainteine, the warre upon them.

Now I coniecture, that this suppressed house of crouched Friars at Motindene, was some slippe of that tree, which one Iames (that conquered the Iles, named Baleares) did first plant in Spaine, about the yeere after Christ 1212.

For they were called, *Fratres Sanctæ Mariæ de redemptione captivorum:* the brothers of S. Marie, of the redemption of captives, or prisoners: their attire, was a white garment, with a black crosse upon it: and their office was, to procure money for the raunsome of such Christians as were taken in the warres by the Turkes.

Ours heere also, had either the same apparell, or another not much different: neither varied they greatly in the name and profession it selfe.

For confirmation wherof, I will make you partaker of a Popish Indulgence (or pardon, as they termed it) made under the seale of the brotherhead of this house, in the yeere of our Lorde God 1475. which it chaunced me to see, and which began after this manner: *Frater Richardus, minister domus de Motiden, provincialis, & vicarius generalis Ordinis sanctæ Trinitatis in Anglia, & redemptionis captivorum qui sunt incarcerati pro fide Ihesu Christi à Paganis, &c.* Friar Richarde, minister of the house of Motinden, provinciall and vicar generall of the Order of the holy Trinitie in England, and of the redemption of the captives which be imprisoned by the Pagans for the faith of Iesus Christ, &c. You see, that in substance their titles were all one, saving that those beyonde the Seas were our Ladies knightes, and ours heere were souldiours to the whole Trinitie: and that was the cause, as you shall heare anone, that Trinitie Sonday was no small feast with them.

The procession at Motindene

For some lately alive in this shyre, have beene eye witnesses, and did right well remember, that yeerely (upon Trinitie Sonday) the religious pessons of this house did use to muster themselves in a most solemne marche, and pompous procession: wherein, albeit there wanted neither Coape nor Canapie, crosse nor candlesticke, flagge nor banner, light nor incense, piping nor chaunting, neither yet any other delightfull glittering that might with the glorie thereof amaze the seely beholder, and ravish him (as it were) into a certeine Popishe heaven: yet to the ende that this pageant of theirs might be the more plausible (in that it had some thing peculiar to it self) their fashion was, to make the Divel himselfe to beare a part in this play with them.

For, as they passed along in this array, the manner was, that some one (berayed like a Divell) should offer to invade the company, as though hee would take the holy Crosse by force from them: Then on the other side, outstepped some other bolde man (appointed for the nonce) with a holy water sprinckle in his hande, and he with all his might flang holy water at him: heerewith, this counterfait Divell must fearfully start backward, for doubt of scalding, and, notwithstanding that he would many times after fare in shew as though he would have flowne in their faces, yet might hee never be so bolde in deede as to approach or come within the fall of any one drop of this water: For, you remember by the olde Proverbe, how well the Divell loveth holy water. Holy water chaseth the Divell.

And thus (forsoothe) the vertue of holy water (in putting the Divell to flight) was confirmed at Motindene by a demonstrative argument. Which if it be so, then greatly was Saint Paule deceaved in the 6. of his epistle to the Ephesians, where he goeth about to arme us from toppe to toe against the assaultes of the Divell: For what needed he good man to recite Sallet, Shield, Sword, and so many other partes of defensive and invasive furniture, when the Holywatersticke alone would have served the turne? Or, at the least, what ment hee to omitte that, being a thing so serviceable, and easily provided? But wee must give these good fellowes leave (after their woonted manner) to set the Holy Ghost to schoole: And yet, by the way, I let them meete, that they cannot *Leonem larva terrere*, make a Lion afearde with a visor: It is not their *aqua lustralis*, their holy water (which they have fetched from Apollo's [illegible] and not from the fountaine of Holy water, came from the Gentiles.

Gods woord) that can make this ramping lion to turne his backe in earnest. Nay rather, let them beware of this his stratageme, and let them consider, that even in worldly warrefare men bee never in more daunger of the enimie, than when he feigneth to fly before them.

But I doe not well to keepe you so long from the Diocesse of Rochester, since I shall have cause to holde you long when I shall have brought you thither.

To conclude therefore, these procurators were not so carefull for the captives, as that in the meane while they kept no care of themselves: for this small company had raked together three score pounds land of auncient revenue, and I finde it noted, that Robert Rokesley founded this house, in the yeere 1224.

The description, & historie, of the See, and Diocesse of ROCHESTER.

THE learned in Astronomie bee of the opinion, that if Iupiter, Mercurie, or any other Planet, approch within certaine degrees of the sunne, and be burned (as they term it) under his beams, That then it hath in manner no influence at all, But yeeldeth wholy to the Sunne that overshyneth it: And some men beholding the nearenesse of these two Bishopricks, Canterbury and Rochester, and comparing the bright glorie, pompe, and primacie of the one, with the contrarie altogither in the other, have fansied Rochester so overshadowed and obscured thereby, that they reckon it no See or Bishoprick of it selfe, but only the [illegible] of a meere Suffragan, and Chaplain to Canter[illegible]

But he that shall either advisedly weigh the first institution of them bothe, or but indifferently consider the state of either, shall easily finde, that Rochester hath not onely a lawful, and canonicall Cathedral See of it selfe, But the same also more honestly won and obtained, than ever Canterbury had.

For, as touching Rochester, Augustine, (whom the Monkes may not deny to be the English Apostle) ordained Iustus Bishop there, Ethelbert (the lawfull King of Kent) both assenting thereto by his presence, and confirming it by his liberall beneficence.

By what meanes the Archbishops chaire came to Canterbury.

But, how Canterbury came to have an Archbishops Chaire, if you thinke that it hathe not in that title already so sufficiently appeered, as that it therefore needeth not now eftsoones to be rehearsed, then reade (I pray you) Gervasius Tilberiensis, and he (in his booke *De otiis Imperialibus)* will tell you, that in *Sanguine sanctorum Dorobernensis ecclesia primatiam obtinuit*, The Churche of Canterbury (saith he) obteined the primacie, by the sheading of the bloud of Saints: meaning, the overthrowe of the religious Brytons of Bangor College, wherof you may reade in Beda at large.

Rochester moreover, hath had also a continuall succession of Bishops, even from the beginning, which have governed in a distinct Diocesse containing foure Deanries, and therefore wanteth nothing (that I knowe) to make it a complete and absolute Bishopricke.

In deede, the yeerely value is but small, the slendernesse wherof (ioined with some ceremoniall duties to the Archbishop) happily have been the cause of abasing the estimation thereof. 604.

But for all that, let us not sticke with auncient

Beda, and others, to say, that the Bishops See at Rochester was at the first instituted by Augustine, That a Cathedrall Church was builded there by King Ethelbert, to the name of S. Andrewe, and that he endowed it with certain land for livelyhood, which he called Priestfield, in token (as I thinke) that Priests should be susteined therewithall.

This Bishopricke may be said to be severed from Canterbury Diocesse (for the moste parte) by the water of Medway, and it consisteth (as I saide) of foure Deanries, namely, Rochester, Malling, Dartford, and Shorham: Howbeit, with this latter (containing about thirty benefices) the Bishop medleth not, the same being a peculiar (as they terme it) to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who holdeth his prerogative wheresoever his lands do lye, as in this Deanrie he hath not onely had of olde time certaine mansion houses with Parkes and Demeanes, but divers other large territories, rents, and revenues also. In it therefore are these Churches following.

The Deanrie of Shorham.

Shorham, with the Chapell of Otford.
Eynesford, with the Vicarage there.
Dernth, and the Vicarage there.
Fermingham, and the Vicarage.
Bexley, and the Vicarage.
Eareth, *alias* Eard.
Eard, *alias* Crayforde.
Northfleete, and the Vicarage.
Mepham, and the Vicarage.
Clyve.
Grean, with the Vicarage.
Farleigh, with the Vicarage.
Huntingdon, *alias* Hunton.

Peckam, with the Vicarage. [Vicarage.
Wrotham, with the Chapell of Stansted and Eightam
Sevenocke, with the Vicarage.
Penshyrst.
Chydingstone.
Hever.
Gillingham, with the Vicarage.
Brasted.
Sundriche.
Chevening. [Vicarage.
Orpington, with the Chapell of Farnborowe, and Hese.
Kestan.
Halstede. [1572.
Woodland, united to the Vicarage of Wrotham
Eastmalling, with the Vicarage.
Ifeild.

A Popishe myracle.

As touching the Bishops of this See, Iustus (one of the same that Pope Gregorie sent hither from Rome) was the first that sate in the chaire, who was afterward translated to Canterbury, and of whom they report this for a singular miracle: That when his body (many yeeres after the interrement) was to be remooved, it yeelded a most pleasaunt savour in the senses of all that were present: Which thing, how marveilous it was, when they had (after the common manner then used) before his buriall embaulmed his body with most precious, delectable, and odoriferous spices, I dare make any man Iudge, if he be not more than a pore blind Papist, given over to beleeve all manner (being never so grosse, and beastly) illusions.

In the whole race of the Bishops succeeding Iustus in this See, three amongst others be read of most notable, Paulinus, Gundulphus, and Gilbertus: of which, the first after his death was there honoured for a Saint: The seconde, was in his life the best benefactor that ever their Church founde: The thirde, was so hatefull and iniurious to the Monkes, that they neither esteemed him while hee was on live, nor wailed him at all after that he was dead. But of all these, we shall have place to speake more largely, when we shall come to the Church and Monasterie.

In the meane time therefore, it shall be fitte to shew with what courage this Church upheldc her rights and privileges, not only against the Monks of Canterbury (which laboured much to bring it under) but also against the See of the Archbishops it selfe, which was (for the most part) the chiefe patrone and promoter of it.

1227. Monks contend for the election of theBishop.

In the reigne of King Henry the Third, and after the death of Benedict (the Bishop of Rochester) the Monkes made choise of one Henrie Sanford (that great clerke, which afterward preached at Sedingburne) whereof when the Monks of Christes church had gotten understanding, they resisted the election, challenging that the pastorall staffe (or crosier) of Rochester ought of very right to be brought to their house after the decease of the Bishop, and that the election ought to be made in their chapiter.

The Monkes of Rochester mainteining their own choise, and so (the matter waxing warm betweene them) it was at the length referred to the determination of the Archbishop: he againe posted it over to certaine delegates, who hearing the parties, and weighing the proofes, gave sentence with the Monkes of Rochester,

and yet left (as they thought) good love and amitie among them: But (as the Poet saith) *Malè sarta gratia, nequicquam coit, & rescinditur:* Friendship, that is but evill peeced, will not ioine close, but falleth asunder againe: And therefore this their opinion failed, them, and their cure was but patched: for soone after the sore brake out of new, and the Canterbury Monkes revived their displeasure with such a heate, that Hubert of Borrow (the chiefe Iustice of the Realme) was driven to come into the Chapter house to coole it, and to worke a second reconciliation betweene them.

Neither yet for all that (as it may seeme) was that flame cleane extinguished: For not long after, the 1238.
Monks of Christes church, seeing that they themselves could not prevaile, intituled their Archbishop Edmunde, with whome also the Rochester Monkes waged lawe at Rome before the holy Father, (as touching the election of one Richarde Wendene, or Wendeover, whom they would have had to Bishop) by the space of three whole yeeres togither, and at the length, either thorow the equitie of their cause, or the weight of their purse, overthrew him upon Saint Cuthberts day: in ioy wherof they returned home with all haste, and enacted in their Chapter house, that from thencefoorth for ever, Saint Cuthbertes feast (as a Tropheum of their victorie) shoulde be holden double, both in their Church and Kitchen.

Saint Cuthberts feast, why holden double.

And not thus onely, but otherwise also, hath the See at Rochester well holden her owne: for during the whole succession of three score and three Bishops, which in right line have followed Iustus, she hath continually mainteined her Chaire at this one place,

Bishops Sees, are translated from Villages to Cities.

whereas in most partes of the Realme besides, the Sees of the Bishops have suffred sundry translations, by reason that in the Conquerours time order was taken, that such Bishops as before had their Churches in Countrie towns and villages, shoulde foorthwith remoove, and from thence foorth remaine in walled Townes and Cities: which ordinaunce coulde not by any meanes touch Rochester, that was a walled Citie long time before King Williams government.

But now, to the ende that I may pursue the order that I have prescribed, I will set foorth a Catalogue of the Bishops of Rochester by name, referring the recitall of their actes and dooings to their peculiar and proper places, as I have done in Canterbury before.

The Catalog of Rochester Bishops.

Iustus.
Romanus.
Paulinus.
Ithamarus.
Damianus.
Putta.
Cuichelmus.
Gibmundus.
Tobias.
Aldulphus.
Duime, or Duno.
Eardulphus.
Diora.
Permundus, *alias* Wermundus.
Beornmodus. After him, these be inserted in a Catalogue that standeth before the Chronicle of Rochester. Tathnodus, Batenodus, Cuthwulfus, Swithulfus, Buiricus, Chuelmundus, and Kyneferdus.

Burhricus.
Aelfstanus.
Godwinus.
Godwinus, the second.
Siwardus. Before, and at, the time of the Conquest.
Arnostus.
1077. Gundulphus.
1108. Radulphus.
1114. Aernulphus.
Ioannes. After whome, in the former Catalog, one other Ioannes followeth.
Ascelimus, or Anselimus: and hitherto they were all Monkes.
Guelterus
Gualerannus.
Gilebertus Glanville.
Benedictus.
Henricus.
Richardus Wendene, or Wendeover.
1250. Laurentius de Sancto Martino.
Gualterus de Merton. Chauncellour of Englande.
Ioannes de Bradfield.
Thomas de Inglethorpe.
1291. Thomas de Wuldham.
Hamo de Heth, or at Hethe: Confessor to King Edward the Second.
1352. Ioannes de Scepey, or Shepey.
Wilhelmus Witlesey.
1363. Thomas Trelege, or Trilleke.
1372. Thomas Brynton, or Brenton.
Richardus Barnet, elected, but not consecrated.
Wilhelmus de Botelesham.

Ioannes de Botelesham, elected onely.
Chelyndon, elected onely.
Richardus Young: hee made the windowes at Frendsbury, and there is to bee seene in picture.
1418. Ioannes Kempe.
Ioannes Langdon.
Thomas Broune.
Willielmus Wellis.
Ioannes Lowe.
Richardus Peckam, Elected onely.
Thomas Rotheram.
Ioannes Alcocke.
Ioannes Russell.
Eadmundus Audeley.
Thomas Savage.
Richardus Fitz Iames
1504. Ioannes Fisher.
Ioannes Hylsey.
1539. Nicholaus Hethe.
1544. Henricus Holbeache.
1547. Nicholaus Rydley. Burned for witnessing the Gospell.
1549. Ioannes Ponet.
1550. Ioannes Skorey.
Mauritius Griffin.
1559. Eadmundus Allen. Elected onely.
1559. Eadmundus Gest.
1571. Eadmundus Freake.
1576. Ioannes Piers.
1578. Ioannes Young.

And thus much shortly being saide touching the See and Bishops of Rochester in generalitie, it followeth

that I enter into the particular description of the Diocesse, wherein I meane to followe the order that I have taken in Canterbury before: Namely, to begin at the Northeast corner, and from thence (first descending along the bankes of Medway, and then passing by the Frontiers of Sussex and Surrey, and lastly returning by the Thamise shore to the same point) to environ the whole Bishopricke: which done, I will peruse what it conteineth in the inner parts also, and then betake me to rest.

The order of this description.

GILLINGHAM.

EVEN at our first entrie into the Diocesse of Rochester, on the Northeast part thereof, the Station, or Harborow of the Navie Royall at Gillingham and Chetam presenteth it selfe, a thing of all other the most woorthie the first place, whether you respect the richesse, beautie, or benefite of the same. No Towne, nor Citie, is there (I dare say) in this whole Shire, comparable in right value with this one Fleete: Nor shipping any where els in the whole world to be founde, either more artificially moalded under the water, or more gorgeously decked above: And as for the benefite that our Realme may reape by these most stately and valiant vessels, it is even the same that Apollo by the mouth of Aristonice promised to Greece, when his Oracle was consulted against the invasion of Xerxes and that his woonderfull armie (or rather world of men in armes) saying,

The Harborowe, of the Navie Roiall.

Iupiter è ligno dat mœnia facta Minervæ,
Quæ tibi sola tuisque ferant invicta salutem.

Highe Iove doth give thee walles of wood,
appointed to Minerve,
The which alone invincible,
may thee, and thine, preserve.

And therefore, of these such excellent ornaments of peace, and trustie aides in warre, I might truly affirme, that they be for wealth, almost so manie rich treasuries, as they be single ships: for beautie, so many princely Palaces, as they be severall peeces: and for strength, so many mooving Castles, as they be sundrie sayling vessels.

They be not many (I must confesse, and you may see) and therefore in that behalfe nothing answerable, either to that Navie which fought against Xerxes at Salamis, or to many other auncient Fleetes of forreigne Kingdomes, or of this our own Iland: howbeit, if their swiftnesse in sayling, their furie in offending, or force in defending, be duly weighed, they shall be founde as farre to passe all other in power, as they be inferiour to any in number. For looke what the armed Hawke is in the aire amongst the fearefull Birdes, or what the couragious Lyon is on the lande amongst the cowardly cattell of the field, the same is one of these at the Sea in a Navie of common vessels, being able to make havocke, to plume, and to pray upon the best of them at her owne pleasure. Whiche speech of mine, if any man shall suspect as Hyperbolicall, let him call to minde, how often, and how confidently (of late yeeres) some few of these ships (incertaine of their intertein-ment) have boorded mighty Princes Navies of a great

number of Saile, and then I doubt not but he will chaunge his opinion.

But what do I labour to commend them, which not onely in shewe, and all reason, doe commende themselves, but also are like in deedes and effecte to perfourme more, than I, in woord or writing can promise for them.

The benefits, that God hath given this Realm, in the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth.

Yea rather, I am provoked at the contemplation of this triumphant spectacle, first to thanke God our mercifull Father, and then to thinke dutifully of our good Queene Elizabeth, by whose vigilant ministrie, care, and providence (drawing as it were, the net for us, whylest we sleepe) not onely the drosse of superstition and base moneies were first abolished, the feare of outward warre removed, rustie armour reiected, and rotten Shipping dispatched out of the way: But also, in place therof, religion and coyne restored to puritie, the domesticall and forreigne affaires of the Realme managed quietly, the land furnished with new armour, shot, and munition aboundantly, and this River fraught with these strong and serviceable Ships sufficiently. Which so apparent and inestimable benefits, the like whereof this Realme never at any one time (and much lesse so long time togither) hath enioyed, if any man perceave not, hee is more than blockish: if hee consider not, hee is exceeding carelesse: and if he acknowledge not, he is too too unkinde, bothe to God, to her Maiestie, and to his owne countrie.

But here againe, for as much as it neither standeth with my present purpose, to depaint her Maiesties praises, neither it lieth at all in my power to set them foorth in their true colours (for it requireth an Appelles, to have Alexander well counterfaited) I will conteine

my selfe within these narrowe termes, and tell you the names of these Ships, that at one time or other doe ryde here.

Estate of the Navie Royall. December 1596.

Elizabeth Ionas.	The Crane.
Tryumph.	Quittaunce.
White Beare.	Aunswere.
Merhonora.	Advauntage.
The Victorie	Tiegre.
Arke Rawliegh.	Tramontane.
Dew Repulse.	Scowte.
The Garlande.	Achates.
Wast Spyte.	
Mary Rose.	Rowe-boates: Gally Bonavolia.
The Hope.	Rowe-boates: Gally Mercury.
Bonadventure.	Rowe-boates: Brygandine.
The Lion.	Rowe-boates: Frigate.
Non Pareille.	
Vant garde.	The Charles.
Rainebowe.	The Moone.
Defiaunce.	Advice.
Dreadnaught.	Spye.
Swiftsure.	Marlion.
Antelope.	Sunne
Swallowe.	Cygnet.
Foresight.	
Adventure.	Hoyes: George Hoy.
Ayde.	Hoyes: Prymerose Hoy.

Among all these (as you see) there is but one that beareth her Maiesties name, and yet all these hath she, since the beginning of her happy reigne over us, either

wholy built upon the stockes, or newly reedified upon the olde moaldes. Her Highnesse also knowing right well that,

Non minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri:

Like virtue it is, to save that is got,
As to get the thing, that earst she had not,

did in the thirde yeere of her most happy Reigne, erect a Castle (called Upnour, of a street in Friendsbury thereto adioyning) for the better defence of this Navie, as the Inscription it selfe doth testifie, in these woordes, amongst other:

Who gave me this shew, to none other ende,
But strongly to stand, her Navie to defend.

Thus much of the Navie: As touching the harborow it selfe, I have heard some wish, that for the better expedition in time of service, Some part of this Navie might ride in some other haven, the rather bicause it is many times very long before a ship can be gotten out of this River into the Sea.

I remember that I have read in Vegetius, that the Romanes divided their Navie, and harboured the one part at Miseno (neare Naples) upon the Tyrrhene Sea, and the other part at Ravenna, upon the Sea Adriatique, to the ende, that when occasion required, they might readily saile to any part of the worlde without delay, or windlassing: Bicause (saith he) in affaires of warre, celeritie doeth as good service, as force it selfe.

But for all that, whether the same order be necessarie for us, or no, who though we have the use of

sundry Seas, as they had, yet we enioy not so large and distant dominions as they helde, it is not our parts to dispute, but their office to determine, who for their great wisedome and good zeale, both can and will provide things convenient, as well for the safetie of the Navy, as for the service of the Realme. And therefore leaving all this matter to the consideration of them that are well occupied at the helme, let us apply our oares, that wee may nowe at length leave the water, and come to the lande at Gillingham.

1042. After the sudden departure of King Hardicanutus the Dane (which died of a surfeite of drinke, taken at a Noble mans marriage in Lambhith) the English Nobilitie thought good to take holde of the opportunitie then offered, to restore to the royall dignitie the issue of King Ethelred, which he in his life had (for feare of the Danes) conveyed into Normandie. For which purpose, they addressed messengers to Richarde then Duke of Normandie, requiring him to send over Edward the only sonne (then left) of King Ethelred, and promising to doe their indevour to set him in his fathers seate, So that he woulde agree to come accompanied with a small number of strangers: The which condition was devised, bothe for their owne excuse, and for the yong Princes safetie.

1036. For before this time, and after the death of King Canutus, they had likewise sent for the same Edwarde, and Alfred (his elder brother that then was on live) putting them in like hope of restitution: to which request the Duke their grandfather assented, and for the more honourable furniture of their iourney, gave them to company, divers yong Gentlemen of his owne countrie, whom he ment to make from thencefoorth

partners of their prosperitie, as they had before time beene companions of their misfortune.

A barbarous cruelltie executed upon straungers

But when they were come into the Realme, the Earle Godwine (who sought more the advauncement of his owne house to honour, than the restitution of the English bloud to the crowne) perceiving that by no meanes he could make a marriage betweene Alfred (the elder of the two) and Edgith his daughter, and yet having hope, that Edwarde the yoonger would accept the offer, if he might bring to passe to set the garland upon his head, he quarelled at the company which came over with them, insinuating to the peeres of the Realm, that Alfred ment (so soone as hee shoulde obtaine the crowne) to place in all roomes of honour, his Normane Nobilitie, and to displace the English, his owne countrie men.

This suspicion, he bet so deepely into the heads of many of the Noble men, and especially of his neerest friends and allies, that foorthwith (at his persuasion) they fell upon the strangers at Gillingham, and first killed nine throughout the whole number of the companie, reserving on live eche tenth man onely: And afterward (thinking the remainder too great) tythed that number also, sleaing in the whole, about five hundred persons: As for Alfred (the elder of the yong Princes) they apprehended, and conveied him to the Isle of Ely, where first they put out his eies, and afterward most cruelly did him to death.

But this Edwarde, fearing their furie, escaped their hands and fled into Normandie: Howbeit, being now eftsoones (as I said) earnestly sollicited by Godwine, and more faithfully assured by the Noble men, he once againe adventured to enter the Realme, and taking

Godwines daughter to wife, obtained the Crowne and enioyed it all his life long.

I am not ignorant, that Simeon of Durham, and divers other good writers, affirme this slaughter to have beene committed at Guylford in Surrey, and some other (of late time, and of lesse note) at Guild downe, a place neere Lamberhirst in the edge of this Shyre: but bicause I finde it expressly reported by Thomas Rudborne, and also the authour of the Chronicle of Coventrie, to have beene done at Gillingham *Iuxta Thamesim*, I sticke not (being nowe come to that place) to exemplifie it, giving neverthelesse free libertie to every man, to lay it, at the one, or the other, at his owne free will and pleasure. Onely my desire is to have observed, that in this one Storie, there doe lye folded up, bothe the meanes of the deliverie of this Realme of Englande from the thraldome of the Danes, and the causes also of the oppression and conquest of the same by the Normanes.

For, as touching the first, it pleased the Almightie (now at length) by this manner of King Hardicanutus death, (which I have shewed) to break in sunder the Danish whip wherewith he had many yeeres together scourged the English nation, and by the meane of drink (the Danish delight) to worke the deliverie of the one people, and the exterminion of the other, even in the midst of all their securitie and pleasaunce.

Excessive drinking, and how it came into England.

In which behalfe, I can not but note the iust iudgement of God, extended against those deepe drinkers, and in their example to admonish all such as doe in like sort most beastly abuse Gods good creatures, to his great offence, the hurte of their owne soules and bodies, and to the evill example of other men. For,

whereas before the arrivall of these Danes, the English men (or Saxons) used some temperaunce in drinking, not taking thereof largely but onely at certaine great feastes and cheerings, and that in one onely wassailing cup (or Bolle) which walked rounde about the boorde at the midst of the meale, much after that manner of intertainment which Dido sometime gave to Aeneas, and which is expressed by Virgil in these verses,

Hic Regina gravem, auro gemmisque poposcit
Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus, & omnes
A Belo soliti: Tum facta silentia tectis,
Iupiter (hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur)
Et vos O cœtum Tyrii celebrate faventes,
Dixit: Et in mensam laticum libavit honorem,
Primaque libato sommo tenus attigit ore, &c.

The Queene commaunds a mightie Bolle,
Of golde and precious stone
To fill with wine: whom Belus King
And all King Belus line
Was wont to holde: then through them all
Was silence made by signe,
O Iove (quoth she) for thou of hostes
And gestes both great and small
(Men say) the lawes hast put: give grace
I pray, and let us all
O you my Moores now doe our best,
These Troians for to cheere:
Thus said she, and when grace was done,
The Bolle in hande she clipt,
And in the liquour sweete of wine
Her lips she scantly dipt.

But nowe, after the comming in of the Danes, and after such time as King Edgar had permitted them to inhabite here, and to have conversation with his owne people, Quassing and Carowsing so increased, that Didoes sipping was cleane forsaken, and Bitias bowsing came in place, of whom the same Poet writeth,

Ille impiger hausit
Spumantem pateram, & pleno se proluit auro.

And he anon,
The fomie boll of golde upturnde,
And drew till all was gon.

So that King Edgar himselfe, seeing (in his own reigne) the great outrage whereunto it was growne, was compelled to make lawe therefore, and to ordaine drinking measures by publique proclamation, driving certaine nayles into the sides of their cups, as limits and bounds which no man (upon great paine) should be so hardie as to trangresse.

But this vice in that short time had taken such fast roote, as neither the restraint of law, nor the expulsion of the first bringers in thereof, could wholy supplant it.

Great troups of serving-men, came in with the Normanes.

For William of Malmesburie (comparing the manners of the English men and Normanes together) complained, that in his time the English fashion was, to sit bibbing whole houres after dinner, as the Normane guise was, to walke and iet up and downe the streetes, with great traines of idle Serving men following them.

And I would to God, that in our time also wee had not iust cause to complaine of this vicious plant of unmeasurable Boalling: which whether it be sproong

up out of the olde roote, or be newly transported by some Danish enimie to all godly temperaunce and sobrietie, let them consider that with pleasure use it, and learn in time (by the death of Hardicanute, and the expulsion of his people) to forsake it: which if they will not, God in time either graunt us the lawe of the Helvetians (which provided that no man should provoke other in drinking) or else, if that may for courtesie be permitted, bicause (as the proverbe is) *Sacra hæc non aliter constant*, yet God (I say) stirre up some Edgar, to strike nailes in our cuppes, or else give us the Greekish οἰνοπτας *Potandi arbitros*, Cup Censors, as I may call them, that at the least we may be driven to drinke in some manner of measure: For it is not sufferable in a Christian Countrie, that men should thus labour with great contention, and strive, for the maistrie (as it were) to offende God, in so wilfull waste of his gratious benefits.

In this Historie is couched also (as I have already tolde you) the first cause of the displeasure conceived by the Normanes against this Realme, and consequently the cause of their invasion succeeding the same. For, whereas after this crueltie, executed by the instigation of Godwine) it happened Harold (his sonne) to arrive at Pountiou, against his will, by occasion of a sudden perry (or contrarie winde) that arose while he was on Seaboorde, whether for his owne disport only (as some write) or for the execution of the Kings message (as others say) or of purpose to visite Wilnote and Hacun, his brother and kinsman (as a thirde sorte affirme) or for what soever other cause, I will not dispute. But upon his arrivall, taken he was by Guy the Earle of Pountiou, and sent to William the Duke of

The cause of the Conquest of England

Normandie: where, being charged with his fathers fault, and fearing that the whole revenge should have lighted upon his owne heade, hee was driven to devise a shift for his deliveraunce.

He put the Duke in remembraunce therefore, of his neare kinred with Edwarde the King of England, and fed him with great hope and expectation, that Edward should dye without issue of his body, by reason that he had no conversation with his wife: So that, if the matter were well and in season seene unto, there was no doubt (as he perswaded) but that the Duke through his owne power, and the ayde of some of the English Nobilitie, might easily after the Kings death obtaine the Crowne: For the atchieving whereof, he both vowed the uttermost of his owne helpe, and undertooke that his brethren, his friends, and allies also, should do the best of their indevour.

The wise Duke, knowing well, *Quam malus sit custos diuturnitatis metus,* How evill a keeper of continuance, feare is, And therefore (reposing much more suretie in a friendly knot of alliance, than in a fearfull offer proceeding but onely of a countenaunce) accepted Haroldes othe for some assuraunce of his promise, but yet withal, for more safetie, affied him to his daughter, to be taken in marriage: And so, after many princely giftes, and much honorable entertainment, bestowed upon him, he gave him licence to depart.

Harold, the King.

But Harold, being now returned into Englande, forgetteth cleane that ever he was in Normandie, and therefore so soone as King Edward was dead, he (violating both the one promise and the other) reiecteth Duke Williams daughter, and setteth the Crowne upon his owne head.

Hereof followed the battaile at Battel in Sussex, and consequently the conquest of this whole realm and Countrie. In contemplation whereof, we have likewise to accuse the olde ἀξενίαν (or rather μιςοξενίαν) the inveterate fiercenesse, and cancred crueltie of this our English nation against forreins and straungers: which ioyning in this butcherly sacrifice with bloudie Busyris, deserved worthily the revenging club of heavenly Hercules: which, fearing (without cause) great harme that these fewe might bring unto them, did by their barbarous immanitie give iust cause to a great armie to overrunne them: And which, dreading that by the arrival of this small troupe of Norman Nobilitie, some of them might lose their honourable roomes and offices, provoked the wrath of God, to sende in amongst them the whole rable of the Norman slaverie, to possesse their goods and inheritances.

The uncurtesie of the English nation, toward straungers.

Busyris, was a tyrant that sacrificed straungers: and was therefore slaine by Hercules.

It were worthy the consideration, to call to memorie, what great Tragedies have beene stirred in this Realme by this our naturall inhospitalitie and disdaine of straungers, both in the time of King Iohn, Henrie his sonne, King Edward the Seconde, Henrie the Sixt, and in the daies of later memorie: But, since that matter is parergon, and therefore the discourse would prove tedious and weariesome, and I also have beene too long already at Gillingham, I will rather abruptly ende it, onely wishing, that whatsoever note of infamie we have heeretofore contracted amongst forreigne writers by this our ferocitie against Aliens, that now at the least (having the light of Gods Gospell before our eies, and the persecuted partes of his afflicted Church, as guestes and straungers in our Countrie) wee so behave our selves towards them, as we may

both utterly rubbe out the old blemish, and from hencefoorth stay the heavy hand of the iust Iupiter Hospitalis, which otherwise must needes light upon such stubburne and uncharitable churlishnesse.

CHETHAM.

Our Lady, and the Roode, of Chetham, and Gillingham.

ALTHOUGH I have not hitherto at any time, read any memorable thing recorded in historie touching Chetham it selfe, yet, for so much as I have often heard (and that constantly) reported, a Popish illusion done at the place, and for that also it is as profitable to the keeping under of fained and superstitious religion, to renew to mind the Priestly practices of olde time (which are now declining to oblivion) as it is pleasant to reteine in memorie the Monuments and Antiquities of whatsoever other kinde, I thinke it not amisse to commit faithfully to writing, what I have received credibly by hearing, concerning the Idols, sometime knowen hy the names, of our Lady and the Roode, of Chetham, and Gillingham.

It happened (say they) that the dead Corps of a man (lost through shipwracke belike) was cast on land in the Parish of Chetham, and being there taken up, was by some charitable persons committed to honest buriall within their Churchyarde: which thing was no sooner done, but our Lady of Chetham, finding her selfe offended therwith, arose by night, and went in person to the house of the parishe Clearke, (which then was in the Streete a good distance from the church) and making a noise at his windowe, awaked him: This

man at the first (as commonly it fareth with men disturbed in their rest) demaunded somewhat roughly, who was there: But when he understoode by hir owne aunswere, that it was the Lady of Chetham, hee chaunged his note, and most mildely asked the cause of her good Ladiships comming: She tolde him, that there was lately buried (neare to the place where she was honoured) a sinfull person, which so offended her eie with his ghastly grinning, that unlesse he were removed, she could not but (to the great griefe of good people) withdraw her selfe from that place, and cease her wonted miraculous working amongst them. And therefore she willed him to go with her, to the end that (by his helpe) she might take him up and cast him againe into the River.

The Clerke obeied, arose, and waited on her toward the Church: but the good Ladie (not wonted to walke) waxed wearie of the labour, and therefore was inforced for very want of breath to sit downe in a bush by the way, and there to rest her: And this place (forsooth) as also the whole tracke of their iourney (remaining ever after a greene path) the Towne dwellers were wont to shew.

Now after a while, they go forward againe, and comming to the Churchyard, digged up the body, and conveied it to the water side, where it was first found. This done, our Lady shranke againe into her shrine, and the Clerke peaked home to patch up his broken sleepe, but the corps now eftsoones floted up and downe the River, as it did before. Which thing being at length espied by them of Gillingham, it was once more taken up and buried in their Churchyard. But see what followed upon it, not onely the Roode of

Gillingham (say they) that a while before was busie in bestowing Miracles, was now deprived of all that his former vertue: but also the very earth and place where this carcase was laide, did continually for ever after, settle and sinke downeward.

This tale, receaved by tradition from the Elders, was (long since) both commonly reported and faithfully credited of the vulgar sort: which although happily you shall not at this day learne at every mans mouth (the Image being now many yeeres sithence defaced) yet many of the aged number did lately remember it wel, and in the time of darknesse, *Hæc erat in toto notissima fabula mundo.* But here (if I might be so bould as to adde to this Fable, his ἐπιμύθιον (or *Fabula significat*) I woulde tell you, that I thought the Morall and Minde of the tale to bee none other, but that this Clerkly μυθοπλάστης, this Talewright (I say) and Fableforger, being either the Fermer, or Owner of the offrings given to our Lady of Chetham, and envying the common haunt and Pilgrimage to the Roode of Gillingham (lately erected *Ad nocumentum* of his gaine) devised this apparition, for the advauncement of the one, and defacing of the other.

For (no doubt) if that age had beene as prudent in examining spirits, as it was prone to beleeve illusions, it should have found, that our Ladies path was some such greene trace of grasse, as we daily behold in the fields (proceeding in deede of a naturall cause, though by olde wives and superstitious people reckoned to be the dauncing places of night spirits, which they call Fayries.) And that this sinking grave, was nothing else, but a false filled pitte of Maister Clearks owne digging.

The man was too blame, thus to make debate betweene our Lady and her Sonne, but since the whole religion of Papistrie it selfe, is Theomachia and nothing else, let him be forgiven, and I will go forward.

Alfred of Beverley, and Richard of Ciceter, bothe following Beda, have mention of a place in East Kent, where Horsa (the brother of Hengist) was buried, and which even till their daies did continue the memorie of his name. And we have in this shire a Towne called Horsmundene, which name (resolved into Saxon Orthographie) is Þoꝛꝛgemýnðene, and soundeth as much as, the Valley of the monument (or memoriall) of Horsa. Horsmunden.

But for as much as that place lieth in the south part of this Countrie toward Sussex: and I reade that Horsa was slaine at Ailesford (as you shall see anone) in that encounter wherein he ioined with his brother Hengist against the Brytons which at that time inhabited Kent, It is more prooveable to affirme, that he was buried at Horsted here, which woord properly signifieth, the Place of Horsa: after the which name also certeine landes (lying in this parish on the part towardes Ailesforde) be yet called, namely, new Horsted, and the olde in the confines of the territorie made subiect to Rochester. Horsted, the new, and the olde.

This Horsa, and his brother Hengist (both whose names be Synonuma, and doe signifie a horse) were the Chiefteins of those first Saxons that came into this land to the aide of Vortiger and the Brytons, as we have before shewed: and after the killing of this Horsa, his brother Hengist never ceassed to follow the warre upon the Brytons, untill such time as he had driven them out of Kent, and created himselfe

King thereof, as hereafter in fitter place wee shall further declare.

Saint Bartilmewes Hospitall.

In this parish standeth yet a poore shewe of that decaied Hospitall of Saint Bartilmew, the foundation whereof as you shall finde in Rochester, was layde by Gundulphus the Bishop.

King Henrie the Thirde calleth it the Priorie of brothers and sisters of the Hospitall of Saint Bartilmew of Chetham, in a certaine confirmation which he made unto them of 40. shillings by yeere, the which Roger Fitz-Stephen of Northwood had given unto them before. Besides the which, King Edward the Third and Henrie the Sixt made general confirmations unto them, and Henrie the Sixt exempted them from all Taxes and tallages. Their Revennew consisted of the Tythes of Kyngsdoune, Henhyrst, and Rode, chiefly: the rest being patched up out of the offerings of the Altars of Sainct Iames and Sainct Giles.

1594. Sir Ioh. Hawkins Hospital.

In the confines of this parish, towardes Rochester also, was now lately builded a receptacle for ten or moe aged, or maimed Mariners and Shipwrights, which (after the founders name) her Maiestie our sovereigne in her letters Patents of the incorporation, dated 27. August. 36 of her Reigne, would to be called, The Hospitall of Iohn Hawkins knight, in Chatham.

FRENDSBURY, *in some Saxon copies* ꝼꝛeondeꝛbẏꝛiȝ, *that is, the Friends Court: in others,* ꝼꝛunondeꝛbẏꝛiȝ.

IT befell in the reigne of King Edward the first (by occasion of a great and long drought of the aire) that

the Monks of Rochester agreed among themselves to make a solemne procession from their owne house throwe the citie, and so to Frendsbury on the other side of the water, of a speciall intent and purpose to pray to God for raine.

A religious skirmish betweene the Monks of Rochester, & the Brethren of Stroude.

And bicause the day of this their appointed iourney happened to be vehemently boisterous with the winde, the which would not onely have blowne out their lightes, and tossed their banners, but also have stopped the mouthes of their Synging men, and have toiled themselves in that their heavie and masking attire, they desired lycence of the Maister of Stroud Hospitall, to passe through the Orchyarde of his house, whereby they might both ease their companie, and save the glorie of their shewe, which otherwise through the iniurie of the weather must needes have been greatly blemished.

The Maister assented easily to their desire, and (taking it to be a matter of no great consequence) never made his brethren of the house privie thereunto. But they, so soone as they understoode of this determination, called to minde that their Hospitall was of the foundation of Gilbert Glanville, (sometime a Bishop of Rochester) betweene whom and the predecessors of these Monks there had beene great heats for the erection of the same: and therefore, fearing that the Monkes (pretending a procession) intended to attempt somewhat iniuriously against their privileges (as in deede all orders in Papistrie, were exceeding ielous of their prerogatives) they resolved with all might and maine to resist them.

And for that purpose (not calling their Maister to counsell) they both furnished themselves, and procured

certaine companions also (whom the Historie calleth Ribaldes) with clubbes and battes to asist them, and so (making their ambush in the Orchyard) they awaited the Monkes comming.

It was not long, but the Monks (having made all things readie) approched in their battell array and with banner displaied, and so (minding no harm at all) entred boldely into the house, and through the house passed into the Orchyard, merily chanting their latine Letanie: But when the Brethren and their Ribaldes had espied them within their daunger, they issued out of their lurking holes, and ranne upon them, and made it raine such a shoure of clubbes and coulestaves upon the Monkes Copes, cowles, and Crownes, that for a while the miserable men knew not what waie to turn them.

After a time, the Monkes called their wits and spirites togither, and then (making vertue of the necessitie) they made eache man the best shift for himselfe that they could: some, traversing their ground, declined many of the blowes, and yet now and then bare off with head and shoulders: others, used the staves of their crosses and behaving themselves like prettie men: Some made pikes of their banner poles: And others (flying in to their adversaries) wrested their weapons out of their handes: amongst the rest, one (saving his charity) laide lode upon a married Priest, absolving him (as mine authour saith) *A culpa*, but not *A pœna*: Another, drave one of the Brethren into a deepe ditch: and a thirde (as big as any Bull of Basan) espied (at the length) the posterne (or back doore) of the Orchyarde, whereat he ran so vehemently with his head and shoulders, that he bare it cleane downe be-

fore him, and so both escaped himselfe, and made the way for the rest of his fellowes, who also, with al possible haste conveied themselves out of the iurisdiction of the Hospitall, and then (shaking their ears) fell a fresh to their Orgia, I should have said to their former Orisons.

After this storme thus blowen (or rather born) over, I doe not marvaile if the Monkes (as the reporter saith) never sought to carrie their procession through Stroud Hospitall for avoiding of the winde, for in deede it could not lightly blowe more boisterously out of any quarter. And thus out of this tragicall historie, arose the byword of Frendsburie Clubs, a tearme not yet clean forgotten. For they of Frendsburie used to come yeerely after that upon Whitsonmondaie to Rochester, in procession with their Clubs, for penance of their fault, which (belike) was never to be pardoned, whilest the Monkes remained. Frendsbury Clubbes.

For albeit I reade not of any that was slaine in the affraye, as peradventure these Monkes had the privilege of those that performed their Sacrifice *Fustuaria pugna*, in which none could be killed, as Herodotus in his Euterpe writeth of the Egyptians report: yet I doubt not but that they were so well blissed with Friendsburie Battes, that they had good cause to remember it many a yeere after.

The land of Frendsbury, was long since given by Offa the King of Midle England, to Eardulph then Bishop of Rochester, under the name of Eslingham *cum appendiciis*, although at this day this other beareth countenance as the more woorthie of the twaine: The benefice of Frendsbury (togither with that of Dartford) was at the suite of Bishop Laurence, and by graunt Eslingham

Appropriations of benefices.

of the Pope, converted to an appropriation, one (amongst many) of those monstrous byrthes of covetousnes, begotten by the man of Rome in the darke night of superstition, and yet suffered to live in this day light of the Gospell, to the great hinderance of learning, the empoverishment of the ministerie, decaie of Hospitalitie, and infamie of our profession.

ROCHESTER, *is called in Latine,* Dorobrevum, Durobrevum, Durobrovæ, *and* Durobrevis: *in Brittish,* Dourbryf, *that is to say, a swift streame: in Saxon,* Þnoþeꝛceaꝛtꝛe; *that is* Rofi civitas, *Rofes citie, in some olde Chartres,* Rofi brevi.

SOME men (desirous belike to advaunce the estimation of this Citie) have left us a farre fetched antiquitie concerning one peece of the same, affirming that Iulius Cæsar caused the Castle at Rochester (as also that other at Canterbury, and the Towre at London) to be builded of common charge: But I, having not hitherto read any such thing, either in Cæsars owne Commentaries, or in any other credible Historie, dare not avow any other beginning of this citie (or castle) than that which I finde in Beda: least if I shoulde adventure as they doe, I might receive as they have, I meane, The iust note of more reading and industrie, than of reason or iudgement.

The Citie.

And although I must (and will freely) acknowledge, that it was a Citie before that it had to name Rochester (for so a man may well gather of Beda his woordes) yet seeing that by the iniurie of the ages betweene,

the monuments of the first beginning of this place and of innumerable suche other be not come to our handes, I had rather in such cases use honest silence, than rash speeche, and do prefer plaine unskil and ignorance, before vaine lying and presumptuous arrogance.

For (trust me) the credite of our English Historie is no one way so much empaired, as by the blinde boldnesse of some, which taking upon them to commit it to writing, and wanting (either through their owne slothfulnesse, or the iniquitie of the time) true understanding of the original of many things, have not sticked (without any modestie or discretion) to obtrude new fantasies and follies of their owne forgerie, for assured truthes, and undoubted antiquitie.

As for examples of this kinde, although there be at hande, many in number, and the same moste fond and ridiculous in matter, yet bicause it should be both odious for the authors, tedious to the readers, and grievous for my selfe, to enter into them, I will not make enumeration of any: But staying my selfe upon this generall note, I will proceede with the treatise of the place that I have taken in hand, the which may aptly (as me thinketh) be broken into foure severall portions: The Citie it selfe, the Castle, the Religious buildings, and the Bridge.

The Citie of Rochester, tooke the name as Beda writeth) of one Rof (or rather Hrof, as the Saxon booke hath it) which was sometime the Lorde, and owner of the place.

This name, Leland supposeth, to have continuance in Kent till this our time, meaning (as I suspect) Rolf, a familie wel inough knowne. Whatsoever the estate of this Citie was before the comming in of the Saxons,

it seemeth, that after their arrivall, the maintenance thereof depended chiefly upon the residence of the Bishop, and the religious persons: and therefore no marvaile is it, if the glory of the place were not at any time very great, Since on the one side the abilitie of the Bishops and the Chanons (inclined to advaunce it) was but meane, and on the other side the calamitie of fire and sworde (bent to destroy it) was in manner continuall.

For I reade, that at such time as the whole Realme was sundred into particular kingdomes, and each part warred for superioritie and inlarging of boundes with
680. the other, Eldred (then King of Mercia) invaded Lothar the King of this Countrie, and finding him unable to resist, spoiled the whole Shyre, and laid this Citie waste.

The Danes also, which in the daies of King Alfred
884. came out of Fraunce, sailed up the river of Medwey to Rochester, and besieging the Towne) fortified over against it in such sorte, that it was greatly distressed and like to have been yeelded, but that the King
i. a healthfull hand. *(Pæonia manu)* came speedily to the reskew, and not onely raised the siege, and delivered his subiects, but obtained also an honourable bootie of horses and captives that the besiegers had left behind them.

The same people, having miserably vexed the whole
999. Realme in the daies of King Ethelred, came at the last to this Citie, where they found the inhabitaunts ready in armes to resist them: but they assailed them with such furie, that they compelled them to save themselves by flight, and to leave the place a pray to their enimies: The which was somewhat the lesse woorth unto them, bicause King Ethelred himselfe (not long

before) upon a displeasure conceived against the Bishop, had besieged the Citie, and would by no meanes depart thence, before he had an hundreth pounds in ready money payd him. 986.

And these harmes, Rochester received before the time of King William the Conquerour, in whose reigne it was valued in the booke of Domesday at 100.s. by the yeere, and after whose daies (besides sundry particular damages done to the Citie, during the sieges laide to the Castle, as shall appeere anon) it was much defaced by a great fire that happened in the reigne of King Henrie the First, the King himselfe, and a great many of the Nobilitie, and Bishops being there present, and assembled for the consecration (as they call it) of the great Church of Sainct Andrewes, the which was even then newly finished. 1130.

And it was againe in manner wholy consumed with flame, about the latter ende of the reigne of King Henrie the Second, at which time that newly builded Churche was sore blasted also: But yet after all these calamities, this Citie was well repaired and ditched about, in the reigne of King Henrie the Third. 1177. 1225.

As touching the Castle at Rochester, although I finde not in writing any other foundation thereof, than that which I alledged before, and reckon to be meere fabulous, yet dare I affirm, that there was an olde Castle above eight hundreth yeeres agoe, in so much as I reade, that Ecgbert (a King of Kent) gave certeine landes within the walles of Rochester Castle, to Eardulfe, then Bishop of that See: And I coniecture, that Odo (the bastard brother to King William the Conquerour) which was at the first, Bishop of Baieux in Normandie, and then afterwarde, advaunced to the 763. The Castle.

office of the chiefe Iustice of Englande, and to the honour of the Earledome of Kent, was either the first authour, or the best benefactour to that which now standeth in sight.

And hereunto I am drawne, somewhat by the consideration of the time it selfe, in which many Castles were raised to keepe the people in awe: and somewhat by the regarde of his authoritie, which had the charge of this whole Shyre: but most of all, for that I reade, that about the time of the Conquest, the Bishop of Rochester received lande at Ailesforde, in exchaunge for grounde to builde a Castle at Rochester upon.

Not long after which time, when as William Rufus (our English Pyrrhus, or Redhead) had stepped be-
1088. tweene his elder Brother Robert and the crowne of this Realme, and had given experiment of a fierce and unbrideled government: the Nobilitie (desirous to make a chaunge) arose in armes against him, and stirred his brother to make invasion: And to the ende that the King should have at once many yrons (as the saying is) in the fire to attend upon, some moved warre in one corner of the Realme, and some in another, But amongst the rest, this Odo betooke him to his Castle of Rochester, accompanied with the best, both of the English and the Norman Nobilitie.

This when the King understood, he sollicited his subiectes, and specially the inhabitaunts of this country, by all faire meanes and promises to assist him, and so (gathering a great armie) besieged the Castle, and straightened the Bishop and his complices the defendants in such wise, that in the ende, he and his company were contented to abiure the Realme, and to leade the rest of their life in Normandie.

And thus Odo, that many yeeres before had beeu (as it were) a Viceroy, and seconde person within this Realme, was now deprived of all his dignitie, and driven to keepe residence upon his benefice, till such time as Earle Robert (for whose cause he had incurred this danger) pitying the cause, appointed him governour of Normandie his owne country.

After this, the Castle was much amended by Gundulphus, the Bishop: who (in consideration of a Manor given to his See, by King William Rufus, bestowed threescore poundes in building that great Towre, which yet standeth. And from that time, this Castle continued (as I iudge) in the possession of the Prince, until King Henrie the first, by the advice of his Barons, graunted to William the Archbishop of Canterbury and his successours, the custody, and 1126.
office of Constable over the same, with free libertie to builde a Towre for himselfe, in any part thereof at his pleasure. By meanes of which cost done upon it at that time, the Castle at Rochester was much in the eie of such as were the authors of troubles following within the realme, so that from time to time it had a part (almost) in every Tragedie.

For, what time King Iohn had warre, with his Barons, they got the possession of this Castle, and committed the defence thereof to a noble man, called William Dalbinet, whom the King immediately besieged, and (through the cowardise of Robert Fitz 1215.
Walter, that was sent to rescue it) after three moneths labour, compelled him to render the peece.

The next yeere after, Lewes (the Frenche Kings Sonne) by the aide of the English Nobilitie, entered the same Castle, and tooke it by force.

1264. And lastly, in the time of King Henrie the thirde (who in the tenth of his Reigne commaunded the Shyrife of Kent to finish that great Tower which Gundulph had left unperfect) Simon Mountforde, (not long before the battaile at Lewes in Sussex) girded the citie of Rochester about with a mightie siege, and setting on fire the wooden bridge, and a Towre of timber that stood thereon, wanne the first gate (or warde) of the Castle by assault, and spoiled the Church and Abbay: But, being manfully resisted seven daies together, by the Earle Warren that was within, and hearing suddenlye of the Kings coming thitherwarde, hee prepared to meete him in person, and left others to continue the siege, all which were soone after put to flight by the Kings armie.

This warre (as I have partly shewed before) was specially moved against strangers, which during that Kings reigne, bare such a sway (as some write) that they not onely disdained the naturall borne Nobilitie of the Realme: But did also (what in them lay) to abolish the auncient lawes and customes of the same. In deede, the fire of that displeasure was long in kindeling, and therefore so much the more furious,
1251. when it brast foorth into flame: But amongst other things, that ministred nourishment thereto, this was not the least, that upon a time it chaunced a Torneament to be at Rochester, in which the English men, of a set purpose (as it should seeme) sorted themselves against the strangers, and so overmatched them, that following the victorie, they made them with great shame to flie into the Towne for covert. But I dwell too long (I feare) in these two parts: I will therefore now visite the Religious building, and so passe over the bridge to some other place.

The foundation of the Church of S. Andrewes in Rochester, was first layd by King Ethelbert (as we have touched before) at such time as he planted the Bishops chaire in the Citie, and it was occupied by Chanons, till the daies of Gundulphus, the Bishop: who bicause he was a Monke, and had heard that it was sometimes stored with Monkes, made means to Lanfranc (sometimes a Monke, but then Archbishop) and by his aide and authoritie, both builded the Church and Priorie of newe, threw out the Chanons, and once more brought Monkes into their place: following therein the example, that many other Cathedrall Churches of that time had shewed before.

S. Andrewes Church in Rochester.

604.

1080.

And this is the very cause, that William of Malmesbury ascribeth to Lanfranc, the whole thank of all that matter: for in deede both he and Anselme his successour, were wonderfully busied in placing Monkes, and in divorcing Chanons, and Secular Priests from their wives, the which (in contempt) they called, Focalia, no better than White kerchiefs or kitchenstuffe: although both the lawe of God maketh the accouplement honorable amongst all men, and the law of this countrie had (without any check) allowed it in Priests, even til their own time.

Priests had wives in England, of olde time.

For Henrie of Huntingdon writeth plainly, that Anselme in a Synode, at London, *Prohibuit sacerdotibus uxores, ante non prohibitas,* Forbad Priestes their wives, which were not forbidden before. And William of Malmesburie affirmeth, that hee there decreed, *Ne inposterum filii presbyterorum sint hæredes ecclesiarum patrum suorum,* That from thencefoorth Priestes sonnes should not be heires to their fathers benefices.

1102.

Which I note shortly, to the ende that men should not thinke it so straunge a matter (in this Realme) for Priestes to have wives, as some peevish Papists goe about to persuade.

But to returne to Gundulphus, from whom I am by occasion digressed, he (as I saide) re-edified the great Church at Rochester, erected the Priorie, and where as he found but halfe a dozen secular Priests in the Church at his comming, hee never ceased, till he had brought together at the least threescore Monkes into the place.

Then removed he the dead bodies of his predecessors, and with great solemnitie translated them into this new worke: and there also Lanfranc was present with his purse, and of his owne charge in-coffened in curious worke of cleane silver the body of Paulinus, the thirde Bishop of Rochester, who had left there the Palle of
1087. the Archbishopricke of Yorke, that was not recovered long after: to the which shrine there was afterwarde (according to the superstitious maner of those times) much concourse of people, and many oblations made.

Besides this, they both ioined in suite to the King, and not onely obtained restitution of sundry the possessions withholden from the Church, but also procured by his liberalitie and example, newe donations of many other lands and privileges.

To be short, Gundulphus (overliving Lanfranc) never rested building and begging, tricking and garnishing, till he had advaunced this his creature, to the iust wealth, beautie, and estimation of a right Popish Priorie. But God (who moderating all things by his divine providence) shewed himselfe alwaies a severe visitour of these irreligious Synagogues) God (I say)

set fire on this building twise within the compasse of 1138.
one hundreth yeeres after the erection of the same:
and furthermore suffered such discorde to arise be-
tweene Gilbert Glanville, the Bishop of Rochester, 1177.
and the Monkes of this house, that he for displeasure
bereaved them, not onely of all their goodes, orna-
ments, and writings, but also of a great part of their
landes, possessions and privileges: and they, both
turmoiled themselves in suite to Rome for remedie,
and were driven (for maintenance of their expences)
to coine the silver of Paulinus Shrine into ready 1212.
money.

Which act of theirs turned bothe to the great em-
poverishing of their house, and to the utter abasing of
the estimation and reverence of their Church: for
that (as in deede it commonlyé falleth out amongst
the simple people, that are led by the sense) the honour
and offering to this their Saint, ended and died toge-
ther with the gay glorie and state of his Tumbe.

By this meanes therefore, Gilbert became so hated
of the Monkes, that when he died, they committed him
obscurely to the ground without ringing of Bel, Cele-
bration of service, or dooing of any other funerall 1214.
Obsequies.

But to these their calamities, was also added one
other great losse, susteined by the warres of King 1215.
Iohn, who in his siege gainst the Castle of Rochester,
so spoiled this Church and Priorie, that (as their owne
Chronicles report) he left them not so much as one
poore Pixe to stande upon their Altar.

It was now high time therefore, to devise some
way, whereby the Priorie and Church of Rochester,
might be, if not altogither restored to the auncient

wealth and estimation, yet at the least somewhat releeved from this penurie, nakednes, and abiection. And therefore, Laurence of Saint Martines, the Bishop of Rochester, perceaving the common people to be somewhat drawne (by the fraude of the Monkes) to thinke reverently of one William, that lay buried in the Church, and knowing well that there was no one way so compendious to gaine, as the advauncement of a Pilgrimage, procured at the Popes Court the Canonization of that man, with indulgence to all such as woulde offer at his Tumbe: underpropping by meane of this new Saint, some maner of reverent opinion of the Church, which before, through defacing the olde Bishops shrine, was almost declined to naught.

1256. Saint William of Rochester.

But to the ende that it may appeere, to what hard shift of Saints these good Fathers were then driven, and how easily the people were then deluded, you shall heare out of *Nova Legenda* it selfe, what great man this Saint William of Rochester was.

He was by birth, a Scot, of Perthe (now commonly called Saint Iohns Towne) by trade of life a Baker of bread, and thereby got his living: in charitie so aboundant, that he gave to the poore the tenth loafe of his workmanship: in zeale so fervent, that in vow he promised, and in deede attempted, to visite the holy land (as they called it) and the places where Christ was conversant on earth: in which iourney, as he passed through Kent, hee made Rochester his way: where, after that he had rested two or three daies, he departed toward Canterbury.

But ere he had gone farre from the Citie, his servant that waited on him, led him (of purpose) out of the

high way, and spoiled him both of his money and life. This done, the servant escaped, and the Maister (bicause he died in so holy a purpose of minde) was by the Monkes conveied to Saint Andrewes, laide in the quire, and promoted by the Pope (as you heard) from a poore Baker, to a blessed Martyr.

Here (as they say) he moalded miracles plentifully, but certaine it is, that madde folkes offered unto him liberally, even untill these latter times, in which, the beames of Gods trueth shining in the harts of men, did quite chase away, and put to flight, this and such other grosse cloudes of will worship, superstition, and idolatrie.

Besides this Priorie, (which was valued by the Commissioners of the late suppression, at 486. pounds by yeere) there was none other religious building in Rochester. But I remember, that about the 21. yeere of the Reigne of our now Sovereigne Lady, one Richarde Wattes of the Bolly hill at Rochester, by his last Will devised certeine landes to the Maior and Communaltie there, for the nightly enterteinment and reliefe, with foure pence, for everie of sixe lawfully travailing men, in a poore Almeshouse within the Citie: which devise, being very unskilfully conceaved, had thorow the manifolde imperfections thereof come to naught, had not Maister Thomas Pagitte (An apprentice at the lawe of the Middle Temple) laboured to reforme and rectifie it: by whose meanes, the place is now assured of sixtie pounde lands by yeere, and is drawen to order, as well for that first purpose, as also for procuring of Hempe, and Flax in stocke, whereby to set the poore on woorke. Almeshouse in Rochester.

Now therefore am I come to the Bridge over Med-

way, not that alone which we presently behold, but another also, much more auncient in time, though lesse beautifull in woorke, which neither stood in the selfe place where this is, neither yet very farre from it.

Rochester Bridge, both the olde, and the new.

For that crossed the water over against Stroude Hospitall: and this latter is pitched some distance from thence towarde the South, and somewhat nearer to the Castle wall, as to a place more fitte, both for the fastnesse of the soile, and for the breaking of the swiftnesse of the streame, to builde a Bridge upon.

That olde woorke, (being of timber building) was
1282. fiered by Simon the Earle of Leicester, in the time of King Henrie the third, as hath already appeered: and not fully twenty yeeres after, it was borne away with the Ise, in the reigne of King Edwarde his Sonne. Wherefore, least that as the Frost and flame, hath already consumed the thing it selfe: So the canker of time should also devoure all memorie, thereof, I have thought meete to impart such antiquities, as I have found concerning that bridge, whereof the one was taken out of a booke (sometime) belonging to the late worthy and wise Counsellour, Doctor Nicholas Wotton, and which he had exemplified out of an auncient monument of Christs Church in Canterbury, bearing this Title,

Memorandum de Ponte Roffensi, &c.

1. *Episcopus Roffensis debet facere primam peram de ponte Roffensi, et debet invenire tres sullives, et debet plantare tres virgatas super pontem. Et hoc debent facere Borstal, Cukelstan, Frendsburie, et Stoke.*

2. *Secunda pera debet habere tres sull. et debet plantare unam virgatam: Et hoc debent homines de Gillingham et de Chetham.*

Episcopus Roffensis debet facere tertiam peram, et debet. 3. sull. et plantare duas virgatas et dimid. Et hoc debetur de Halling, Trockesclive, Malling, Southflete, Stane, Pinendene et Falcham. 3.

Quarta pera debet tres sull. et plantare tres virgatas. Et hoc debent homines de Borgham de sex sull. et de Woldham cum Roberto Basset et sociis suis, et cum Roberto Neve de trib. sull. de Athle una sull. de Henherst dimid. sull de Honden quartam partem unius sull. de Cusington dimid sull. de Boncheld dimid sull: De Farleg unam sull. De Ethles viginti quinque acras: de Theiston unam sull. De Lose unam sull. de Lillinton, duas sull: De Stokebury, duas sull: De Gliselardland, de Sinelond, de Dalelond: De Lechebundlond, De Horsted, De Chelk. 4.

Quinta pera pertinet ad Archiepiscopum. Et debet tres sull: et plantare quatuor virgat. Et hoc debetur de Wroteham, Medestane, Woteringbery, Netherlestede, Pecham, et altera Pecham, Heselholt, Mereworth, Leyborne, Swaneton, Offeham, Dictone, Westerham. 5.

Sexta pera pertinet ad Hundredum de Heyhurne, et debet sull: et plantare 4. virgatas: et hoc debent homines de Boxele, scilicet de. 7. sull. et dimid. sed contradicunt. Dimid. sull. de Dethling: unam sull. et Dimid et quartam partem unius Thornham. 2. sull. et tertiam, quam contradicunt: De Aldington unam sull: et aliam, quam contradicunt: De Stokebery. 2 sull. de Eilnothington. 2. sull. de Bicknore. i. sull. de Widneselle. i. sull. de Holingeburne 6. sull, de quibus Godinton debet 2. sull, et Bocton Archiepiscopi dimid. sull: de Heberton cum Frensted. i. sull: de Lhedes 3. sull, de Herietesham cum Litlewrotham 2 sull: de Wren- 6.

stede dimid sull, de Wytheling cum Eastelne. i. sull, de Lenham 4 *sull. et dimid de Longele cum Otringdene* 2. *sull et dimid. de Eastlenham* 2. *sull, de Boctone Bavelingham. i. sull, de Hulecumb.* 2. *sull, et dimid. quam contradicunt. de Farburn dimid. sull, et dimid quam contradicunt. de Suthone* 7. *sull, et dimid. de Otteham i. sull, de Witherinton dimid. sull. Notandum, quod ad* 6. *sull, de Holingborne debet Boctone dimid. sull, Godington* 2. *sull, Bucckerst dimid. Iug. Wibendene et Hockebery dimid, Iug. Wythyherst. i. Iuger, Herindene dimid. Iuger. Hallebroc et Herebertest dimid. Iuger. Bresing* 3. *Iug. Beauerepair dimid. Iuger. Stanburne et Thrumsted dimid. Iug. Riple dimid. Iuger. Bradestrete dimid. Iuger. Brechedene quartam partem unius Iuger. Simon de porta* 5. *acras, Gilebertus de Thrumstede* 15. *acras. Terra Ospeck* 5. *acras. Thomas supra montem* 10. *acras. Sara de Dene, Robertus de Swandene cum sociis* 45. *acras. Bradherst* 4 *Iuger. Huking dimid. Iug. Wodæton. i. Iug. Herst. i. Iuger. Heyhorne dimid. Iug. Lareye dimid. Iug. Grenewey. i. Iug. Southgreney. i. Iug. Gerin cum sociis dimid. Iug. Terra Iacobi de Hanney dimid. Iuger. Cotenetun dimid. Iug. Nutemannestowe, et terra Bellardi, dimid. Iug. Sheldesbourn dimid. Iug. Snade quartam partem. Worham* 3. *acras. Bode* 5 *acras. Simon Cockel* 25. *acras. Hæredes Thomæ de la Dane.* 5. *acras. Walterus Larsone* 5. *acras. Wilhelmus Clive* 10 *acras.*

7. 8. *Septima, et octava pera, pertinent ad homines de Hoo. Et debent sex sull: et plantare* 4. *virgat. et dimid.*

9. *Nona pera pertinet ad Archiepiscopum, et debet* 3. *sull, et plantare* 4. *virgat, Et hoc debetur de et*

Clive, Heigham, Deninton, Melton, Hlidesdon, Mepeham, Snodeslond, Bearlinges, Peadelesworthe, et de omnibus hominibus in eadem valle,

The other antiquitie, I found in an olde volume of Rochester Librarie, collected by Ernulfus the Bishop, and intituled, *Textus de Ecclesia Roffensi:* in which, that which concerneth this purpose, is to be read both in the Saxon, (or ancient English) tooug, and in the Latine also, as hereafter followeth.

This is the Bridgewoorke at Rochester.
Ðiſ iſ þære brucæzepeorc on Rocheſtre;

Here be named the landes, for the which men shall beginneth
Þeſ ſýndon zenamoð þa land. þe man Þi oſ ſcæl

woorke. First the Bishop of the Citie taketh on 1.
peorcan; Fyrſt þære burzebiſcop fæÞð on

that end to woorke the land peere: and three
þone eaſm to peorcene þa land peran. ⁊ þreo

yardes to planke: and 3 plates to laye: that
zýrda to þillanne. ⁊ iii. ſýlla to lyccanne; þ
of
is, from Borstall, and from Cuckstane, and from
iſ oſ borcſtealle. ⁊ oſ Cuccleftane. ⁊ oſ

Frendsbyry, and Stoke.
ſrinondeſtbýrz. ⁊ oſ Stoce;

Then the second peere belongeth to Gyllingham. 2.
Ðonne ſeo oþer per zebýraþ to zyllinzeÞam.

and to Chetham, and one yarde to planke. and 3.
⁊ to Cæt₱am. ⁊ an ȝýrde to þillanne. ⁊ iii.

plates to laye.
ſýlla to leccane;

3. *Then the third peere belongeth again to the same Bishop,*
Ðonne ſeo þridde per ȝebýrað eft þam biſcope.
and three yardes lacking a halfe,
and two yardes and a halfe, to planke, and 3. *plates*
⁊ þridde ₱ealf ȝýrd to þillanne. ⁊ iii. ſýlla
from
to laye of halling and of Trosclif:
to leccenne. of ₱ealinȝan. ⁊ of tþoteſclive

and of malling. and of Fleete. and of Stone, and
⁊ of Mealliȝan. ⁊ of Fliote. ⁊ of Stane. ⁊
Fakham.
of pyndene. and of falkenham.
of punðene. ⁊ of ſalc₱en₱am;

4. *Then is the fourth peere the Kinges and* 3.
Ðonne iſ ſeo ſeorðe pær þær cinȝeſ. ⁊ ſiorðe

yardes and a halfe to planke, and 3. *plates to laye,*
₱alf ȝýrd to þillanne. ⁊ iii. ſýlla to leccanne.
Hundreth
of Aylesford, and of all that Lathe that thereunto
of æȝleſford, ⁊ of callan þam læþe þe þerto
Okeley,
lyeth, and of ovenhille. and of Aclay, and of
liþ. ⁊ of uſan₱ýlle. ⁊ of Æclea. ⁊ of þam

Smalland. and of Cosyngton. and of Dudslande,
Smalanlanꝺ. ⁊ of Cuſıntune. ⁊ of ꝺuꝺeſlanꝺe.

and of Gisleardsland, and of Woldham, and of
⁊ of Gẏſleapꝺeſlanꝺe. ⁊ of ꝑulꝺe Pam. ⁊ of

Burham, and of Acclesse. and of Horstede,
buſ Pam. ⁊ of Accleſſe. ⁊ of Poſtꝺe.

and of Farley, and of Teston, and of Chalke
⁊ of ꝼeaſnleȝe. ⁊ of teſtane. ⁊ of Cealce.

and of Henhyrst, and of Edon
⁊ of Penn Pẏꝛte. ⁊ of Eꝺune;

Then is the fifte peere the Archbishops, 5.
Ðonne ıſ ſeo ꝼıꝼte peꝛ þæſ Aꝛcebıſcopeſ.

to Wrotham, and to Maydstone, and to
to ꝓꝛote Pam. ⁊ to Mæȝþanſtane. ⁊ to

Wateringbyrie, and to Nettlested, and to the
poþſınȝebẏꝛıan. ⁊ to Netleſtꝺe. ⁊ to þam

two Peckams, and to Haselholte, and to Mereworth,
tpam Pecc Pam. ⁊ ſo Pæſel Polte. ⁊ to Meꝛıanpẏꝛþe.

and to Layborne, and to Swanton, and to Ofham,
⁊ to Lıllanbuſnan. ⁊ to Spanatune. ⁊ to Oꝼꝼa Pam.

and to Dytton, and to Westerham, and foure yardes
⁊ to Dıctune. ⁊ to peſtepPam. ⁊ iiii. ȝẏꝛꝺa

to planke, and 3 plates to laye.
to þillanne. ⁊ iii. 8ýlle to leccanne;

6. *Then is the sixte peere to Holingborne,*
Đonne ıȝ ȝýo ȝeoxte peȝ to Polinȝabuȝnan.

and to all that Lath, And foure yardes to planke:
⁊ to eallan þam læþe. ⁊ iiii. ȝýȝđa to þellıene.

and foure plates to laye.
⁊ iiii. ȝýlla to leccenne;

7. 8. *Then is the seventh, and the eight peere*
Đonne ıȝ ȝýo ȝýoueþe. ⁊ ȝýo eaƿteþe peȝ

to the men of Hoo to woorke: And foure
to ƿopaȝnan lanđ to þýncenne. ⁊ ƿýƿte

yardes and a halfe to planke: and sixe plates to laye.
ƿealƿ ȝýȝđ to þillanne. ⁊ vi. ȝýlla to lýccanne.

9. *Then is the nynthe peere the Archbishops,*
Đonne ıȝ ȝýo nıȝaþa peȝ þæȝ Æȝcebıȝcopeȝ.

that is the land peere at the West ende: to
þ ıȝ ȝýo lanđ peȝ æt þam peȝt ænđe; to
Byshops cliffe
Fleete: and to his cliffe: and to Higham: and to
ƿlıote. ⁊ to Pıȝ clýƿe. ⁊ to PePPam. ⁊ to

Denton: and to Mylton: and to Ludsdowne:
đenetune. ⁊ to Melantune. ⁊ to Pluđeȝđune.

and to Mepham. *and to Snodland:*
and to Meapeham. and to Snodilande.

and to Berling, *and to Paddlesworth: and*
and to berlingan. and to peadlesyrðe. and

to all that valley men: and foure yardes to plancke: and
ealla ða dænepanu; 7 iiii. gyrda to dillianne. 7

three plates to laye.
ðryo rylle to leccanne;

Hæc descriptio demonstrat apertè, unde debeat pons de Rovecestra restaurari, quotiens fuerit fractus.

Primum, eiusdem Civitatis Episcopus incipit operari in orientali brachio primam peram de terra: deinde tres virgatas plancas ponere, et tres sulivas. i. tres magnas trabes supponere: Et hoc faciet de Borchastalle, et de Cuclestana et de Freondesbiria, et de Stoche. 1.

Secunda pera pertinet ad Gillingeham, et ad Cætham: et unam virgatam plancas ponere, et 3. sulivas supponere. 2.

Tertia pera pertinet iterum ad Episcopum eiusdem civitatis, qui debet 2. virgatas et dimid, plancas ponere: et 3. sulivas supponere: et hoc fiet de Heallinges, Trottesclive, Meallinges, Suthfleotes, Stanes, Pinnendene, et Falceham. 3.

Quarta pera pertinet ad Regem, et debet 3. virgatas et dimid. plancas ponere: et 3. sulivas supponere: Et hoc fiet de Eilesforda, et de toto illo læsto quod ad illud manerium pertinet: et de supermontaneis, et de Aclea, et de Smalaland, et de Cusintune, et de Dudes- 4.

land, et de Gisleardes land, et de Wuldeham, et de Burham, et de Aclesse, Horsteda, Fearnlega, Terstane, Cealca, Henhersta, et de Hathdune.

5. *Quinta pera est Archiepiscopi, et debet* 4. *virgatas plancas ponere, et* 3. *sulivas summittere: et hoc debet fieri de Wrotham, Mædestana, Oteringaberiga, Netlesteda, duabus Peccham, Hæselholt, Mærewurtha, Lilleburna, Swanatuna, Offeham, Dictuna, et Westerham.*

6. *Sexta pera debet fieri de Holingburna, et de toto illo læsto quod ad hoc pertinet:* 4. *virgat. plancas ponere, et* 3. *sulivas supponere.*

7. 8. *Septimam et octavam peram, debent facera homines de Hou, et* 4. *et dimid. virgat. plancas ponere, et sex sulivas supponere.*

9. *Nona pera, quæ ultima est, in occidentali brachio, est iteram Archiepiscopi:* 4. *virgat. plancas ponere: et tres sulivas summittere: Et hoc debet fieri de Northfleta, Cliva, Heahham, Denituna, Meletuna, Hludesduna, Meapeham, Snodilanda, Berlinges, Peadlesworthe, et de omnibus illis hominibus, qui manent in illa valle.*

Et sciendum est, quod omnes illæ sulivæ quæ in ponte illo ponentur, tantæ grossitudinis debent esse, ut bene possint sustinere, omnia gravia pondera superiacentium plancarum, et omnium desuper transeuntium rerum.

By these it may appeere, that this auncient bridge consisted of nine Arches, or peeres, and conteined in length, about twenty and sixe roddes, or yardes, as they be here termed, Toward the reparation and maintenance whereof, divers persons, parcels of lands, and townships (as you see) were of dutie bound to

bring stuffe, and to bestowe both cost and labour in laying it.

This dutie grew, either by tenure, or custome, or both: and it seemeth, that according to the quantitie and proportion of the Land to be charged, the cariage also was either more or lesse.

For heere is expresse mention, not of Townes and Manors onely, but of Yokes and Acres also, which were contributarie to the aide of carrying, pitching, and laying of piles, plankes, and other great timber.

And heere (by the way) it is to be observed, that so much of the worke as ariseth of stone and earth, is called Pera, of the Latine woord, *Petra*: that the great grounde postes, plates, or beames, be termed *(Sullivæ)* of the olde Saxon woorde (Sylle) which we yet everie where knowe by the name of a Ground Sille: And that the Tables, or Boords, which are laid over them, are named *(Plancæ)* or Plankes, as we yet also in our vulgar language do sound it. But, by reason that divers Landes are sithence properlie given to mainteine the new Bridge, al this auncient duetie of reparation was quite and cleane forgotten, although by a statute (21. Rich. 2.) the forenamed landes remaine liable thereunto as before: yea, the new Bridge it selfe also (for want of the execution of that, or some other such politique way of maintenance) hath lately lacked helpe, and was like shortly (if remedie in time had not beene applied) to decline to great decaie and utter ruine: Which thing was so much the more to be foreseene, and pittied, as that the worke is to the founder a Noble monument, to this Citie a beautifull ornament, and to the whole Countrie a moste serviceable commoditie, and easement.

Syr Robert Knolles, a valiant Capitaine.

Of this latter woorke (being not much above eight-score yeeres of age) Syr Robert Knolles (a man advaunced by valiant behaviour, and good service under King Edward the third, from a common Souldiour, to a most commendable Capitaine) was the first Authour: who after that he had beene sent Generall of an armie into Fraunce, and there (in despite of all their power) had driven the people like sheepe before him, wasting, burning, and destroying, Townes, Castles, Churches, Monasteries, and Cities, in such wise and number, that long after in memorie of his acte, the sharpe points and Gable ends of overthrown Houses and Minsters, were called Knolles Miters: he returned into England, and meaning some way to make himselfe as well beloved of his Countrie men at home, as he had been everie way dread and feared of Strangers abroade, by great policie maistred the River of Medwey, and of his owne charge made over it the goodly woorke that now standeth, and died full of yeeres in the midst of the Reigne of King Henrie the fourth.

At the East ende of the same Bridge, Sir Iohn Cobham erected a Chapell, and was not wanting to the principall woorke it selfe, either in purse or guift of landes. And afterwardes Archbishop Warham added to the Coping of the Bridgwoorke, those Iron Barres which do much beautifie the same, entending to have performed it thorowe out: But, either wanting money by the losse of his prerogatives, or time by prevention of Death, he left it in the halfe, as you may yet see it.

Neither is the princely care of the Queenes Majestie lesse beneficiall to the continuance of this Bridge, than was the cost and charge of the first Authours to the first erection of it: as without the which, it was to be

iustly feared, that in short time there would have beene no Bridge at all.

For, besides that the landes contributarie to the repaire thereof were not called to the charge, even those landes proper were so concealed, that verie fewe did know that there were any such to support it: the revenewe being so converted to private uses, that the countrie was charged both with Tolle and Fifteene, to supplie the publique want, and yet the woorke declined daily to more and more decaie. At such time therefore as her Maiestie (in the fifteenth yeere of her Raigne) made her Princely progresse into Kent, she was informed heerof by Syr William Cecill, then principall Secretarie, now Baron of Burghley and Lord Treasorer, that Noble Nestor, and most woorthie States man: at the contemplation whereof she was pleased to graunt Commission to certaine Lords, to him, and to divers knights and Gentlemen of the Country, to enquire as well of the defects and causes thereof, as of the meanes for remedie. In which part, the laborious endevour of the late sir Roger Manwood, Chiefe Baron of her Maiesties Eschcaquer, deserved special commendation: who, passing thorow all difficulties, first contrived a plot of perfect reformation, And then within three yeeres after, procured that statute of the 18. yeere of her Highnesse Reigne, and lastly that other Act of the 27. yeere: By the carefull execution of which, not onely the present estate of the Bridge is now much bettered, but also the revenew of the lands proper is so increased (I might say Tripled) that there is good hope for ever to mainteine the defence of the Bridge onely therewithall, and without the helpe of the landes contributarie, which

neverthelesse stande liable, if any unlooked for necessitie shall so require.

STROODE, *of the Saxon,* Ꮪtꭹoꝺ, *that is, Strowed, or scattered: bicause it consisted then of a few scattered houses, without the Citie.*

ABOUT the beginning of the reigne of King Henrie the third, Gilbert Glanville (the Bishop, of whome you have hearde) founded the Hospitall at Stroude called Neworke) dedicating his cost to the honour of the blessed virgine Marie, and endowing it to the yeerely value of fifty two poundes.

The Manor of Stroude (to which the Hundred of Shamele belonged) was graunted to the Templers, by the name, *Magistro, et fratribus Militiæ Templi Solomonis,* in the xi. yeere of the same King Henrie the third. And after the suppression of that most rich and stately order, it was bestowed by king Edward the thirde (in the xii. of his reigne) upon Marie the Countesse of Penbroke, who within sixe yeeres after gave it to the Abbesse and Sisters Minorites, of the profession of Saint Clare, of Denney in Cambridgeshyre, to which place she had removed them from Waterbeche, where they were first planted by her. But, seeing that *Non omnes arbusta iuvant, humilesque Myricæ,* let us looke higher.

Thomas Becket.

Polydore Virgil (handeling that hot contention, betweene King Henrie the seconde, and Thomas Becket) saith, that Becket, (being at the length reputed for the kings enimie) began to be so commonly neglected,

" contemned, and hated, that when as it happened him " upon a time to come to Stroude, the inhabitants " thereabouts (being desirous to despite that good " father) sticked not to cut the taile from the horse on " which he roade, binding themselves thereby with a " perpetual reproach: For afterward (by the will of " God) it so happened, that every one which came of " that kinred of men which had plaied that naughty " pranke, were borne with tailes, even as brute beasts " bee.

Such another like tale did Alexander Essebye sometime write of Augustine, Beckets predecessour, (or rather founder) in that See: who, as he saieth, when fish tailes were despitefully throwen at him by certeine men of Dorsetshire, was so furiously vexed therrwith, that he called upon God for revenge, and he forthwith heard him, and strake them with tailes for their punishment. This later fable, doth Iohn Maior the Scot (by what warrant, God woteth) translate from Dorsetshyre to Rochester in Kent, and so maketh the way open for Polydore, both by like poeticall or popish licence, to carie it to Stroude, and also to honour his great God Saint Thomas with it. But Hector Boetius (another Scot) looking better upon the matter, sendeth it home to Dorsetshyre againe, and saieth that it chaunced at Miglington there.

These reportes (no doubt) be as true as Ovides historie of Diana, whome hee feigneth in great furie to have bestowed upon Actæon a Deeres head with mightie brow Anthlers. But, as Alexander Essebye and his followers might easily have beene restrained to tell so fond a tale of Augustine, both by the silence of Beda, who writing of set purpose Augustines doings,

and being nothing dainty of vaine miracles, reporteth yet no such thing of him, And also by the plaine speeche of William Malmesburie, who setting foorth the same reprochfull dealing against Augustine at Cerne in Dorsetshyre (a third place, for false witnesses doe seldome agree) hath yet never a worde of any such revenge, but saieth plainly that the people afterward were sorie for it, and that Augustine pardoned the offence: Even so Polydore might well have spared to magnifie Becket with this lie, so farre off for the time, so incredible for the matter, and so slaunderous for the men, unlesse he had brought his Talesman with him, seeing that neither the Quadrilogc of Beckets life, nor the Legend (though never so full of lies) nor any other auncient historian (so farre as I can hitherto observe) hath once reported it before him. Let the Westernmen therefore (if they will) thinke themselves pleasured by Polydore, who taking (as you see) the miracle from Augustine applieth it to Becket, and so (removing the infamous revenge from them) laieth it upon our men of Kent. But I dare pronounce, that Dorsetshyre, Kent, and each other part of the realme, is little beholden to Alexander and the rest, but least of all to Polydore, who have amongst them brought to passe, that as Kentish men be heere at home merily mocked, so the whole English nation is in foreine countries abroad earnestly flowted, with this dishonourable note, in so much that many beleeve as verily that we be Monsters and have tailes by nature, as other men have their due partes and members in usuall maner. Behold heere one of the fruites of their spitefull miracles.

But yet, least any shoulde thinke that I did wrong,

to charge another with untrueth, and not to set downe the trueth my selfe, to the ende that all men might iudge of us bothe, hearken (I pray you) what the Quadriloge (or foure mans tale, of Beckets life and death) and the new Legende also have left us of this matter.

"A few daies (say they) before the Christmas, in "which the Archbishop was slaine, he roade to Lon- "don with a great troupe (minding to have visited his "province) where albeit that he was ioyfully receaved "of the common sort and of the citizens also, yet the "Kings sonne streightly enioyned him to proceede no "further, but to returne to Canterbury againe, the "which also he did accordingly. Afterward, one "Robert Brock (a man of the Clergie, and dwelling "in Canterbury) meeting by chaunce with a horse of "the Archbishops that carried certeine stuffe of his "kitchin (or Scullerie) did cut off the taile of the beast "in despite of the maister: who (upon the under- "standing thereof) stepped the next day (which was "Christmas day) into the pulpit at Canterbury, and "there, *ferus, indignabundus, ardens, et audens* (the "very woordes of the Quadriloge) all fierce, wrothe, "fierie, and bolde, excommunicated Brock for his "labour, as he did sundry others also (by name) that "had grieved him in his absence out of the realme. "And this excommunication (say they) was of such "force, that the very dogs under the table whereat "Brock sate, would not once touch, and much lesse "taste, any bread that he had fingered, no not although "it were mingled with other bread that never came in "his handes: But of any Tailes, or other revenge, not "one woord have these men.

And truly, albeit this which they say be a good deale more than I may with any reason desire you to believe (unlesse happily I would have you think, that their excommunication is meeter punishment for dogs than for men, since Brock, so far as they tell, never forbare his meate for it, (whatsoever the dogs did) yet could not Polydore be contented so to exemplifie it, but he must needes lash out further, and contend to outly the lowdest Legendaries. Whereof if you yet doubt, conferre (I pray you) his report with theirs, and it shall resolve you.

He saieth, that Becket was contemned of the common sort; they say, that he was much made of: he saieth, that such as dwelt about Stroude, did the shrewd turne, they say that Robert Brock, which dwelt at Canterbury, committed it: he speaketh of many, they but of one: he telleth us of the common people, they of a clergie man, their owne annointed: he affirmeth it to be done at Stroude, they about Canterburie: hee will have it of prepensed purpose, they of sudden chaunce: he saieth it was the horse that the Archbishop roade upon, they that it was a poore beast which caried spits, dishes, or dripping pannes: So that (omitting other contrarieties) either many must be one, the common sort must become the clergie, Stroude must be Canterbury, determinate device must be sudden hap, and finally the Archbishop must bee but kitchin stuffe, or else Polydore must be attainted of lying by these five witnesses.

It seemeth, that he himselfe was afraide that Issue might be taken upon this matter, and therefore he ascribeth it to certeine families which he nameth not: And yet (to leave it the more incerteine) he saieth,

that they also be long since worne out, and sheweth not when: And so, affirming hee cannot tell of whome, nor when, he goeth about (in great earnest) to make the world beleeve he cannot tell what.

But (will some man say) although he misse in the manner and circumstaunces of the thing done, whereof he might thinke it no great necessitie to be much carefull: yet he may hit in the matter and substance, that is to say, in the plague ensuing, which is the very marke whereat he aimed.

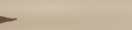
Truely there is no cause to trust him in the sequele, that is found untrustie in the premises: Neverthelesse, for mine owne part I thinke for all this that he hath saide well, in telling us that the posteritie borne of such as curtailed S. Thomas horse, were afterwarde plagued with tailes for it: And this forsoothe may be the mysterie. It is commonly saide, and not without good cause believed that Maidens children, and Bachelers wives bee ever well taught and nurtured: and no marveile, for neither hath the one sort any children, nor the other any wives at all. After the very same figure and phrase, may Polydores speech be verified also. For (as you see well) Brock alone did this great acte, who (being one of the clergie) could have no wife, and then (if he lived without a concubine) he coulde leave none issue behind him: and so Polydore might safely say, that all they which came of him, had not onely tailes like beastes, but also feete like fowles, scales like fishes, or whatsoever other unkindly partes, that might make up a fit picture for Horace and his friends to be merrie withall.

But (in earnest) I doe not thinke, that he meant thus, and much lesse doe I beleeve that hee did but

seeke for a byword that might be a match or felow for (Coglioni di Bergamo) The Coollions of Bergamo, that scoffe of Italie, his owne countrie: nay rather, it is plaine that he had another purpose in it. For (as the Proverbe is) *Cauda de vulpe testatur,* the taile is ynough to bewray the foxe, And his woordes (*Bonum patrem,* the good father) do evidently shew, that he would not sticke to straine a point, so that he might glorifie Saint Thomas thereby. He had forgotten the lawe whereunto an Historien is bounden, *Ne quid falsi audeat, ne quid veri non audeat,* That he should be bolde to tell the trueth, but yet not so bold as to tell an untrueth: Neither did he remember that he himselfe had told the King in his Preface to his booke, that sincere trueth, and olde wives tales, doe not agree.

I doe gladly graunt, that his Historie is a worthie woorke, whether you will respect the Stile and Methode thereof, or the Storie and matter, excepting the places blemished with suche and some other follies: the which, since he inserteth many times, without all choice or discretion, he must bee read of the wiser sort, and that not without great suspition and warynesse. For, as he was by office collectour of the Peter pence to the Popes gaine and lucre: So sheweth he himselfe thorowout by practise, a covetous gatherer of lying Fables, faygned to advaunce, not Peters, but the Popes owne religion, kingdome, and Miter.

HALLING, *in Saxon* Palinz, *that is to say, the holsome lowe place, or Medowe.*



I HAVE seene in an auncient booke (conteining the donations to the See of Rochester, collected by Ernulphus the Bishop there, and intituled *Textus de Ecclesia Roffensi)* a Chartre of Ecgbert (the fourth christened King of Kent) by the which he gave to Dioram the Bishop of Rochester tenne ploughlandes in Halling, together with certaine Denes in the Weald, or common wood. To the which Chartre, there is (amongst others) the subscription of Ieanbert the Archbishop, and of one Heahbert, a King of Kent also, as he is in that booke tearmed. Which thing I note for two speciall causes, the one to shewe, that about that age there were at one time in Kent, moe Kings than one: The other, to manifest and set foorth the manner of that time in signing and subscribing of Deedes and Chartres: a fashion much different from the insealing that is used in these our daies. And as touching the first, I my selfe would have thought, that the name King, had in that place been but only the title of a second magistrate (as Prorex, or Viceroy) substituted under the very King of the country for administration of iustice in his aide or absence: saving that I reade plainly in another Chartre, of another donation of Eslingham (made by Offa the King of Mercia, to Eardulfe, the Bishop of the same See) that he proceeded in that his gift, by the consent of the same Heahbert, the King of Kent, and that one Sigaered also (by the name of *Rex dimidiæ partis provinciæ Cantuariorum)*

Many Kings at once, in Kent.

778.

764.

both confirmed it by writing, and gave possession by
Liverie of Seisine. the deliverie of a clod of earth, after the manner of seison that wee yet use. Neither was this true in Heahbert onely, for it is evident by sundry Chartres,
738. extant in the same Booke, that Ealbert the King of
762. Kent, had Ethelbert (another King) his fellow and partener: who also in his time was ioyned in reigne with one Eardulfe, that is called *Rex Cantuariorum*, as well as he. So that, for this season, it should seeme, that either the kingdome was divided by discent, or els, that the title was litigious and in controversie, though our histories (so farre as I have seene) have mention of neither.

The old manner of Signing & Sealing of deeds. This olde manner of signing and subscribing, is (in my fantasie) also not unworthie the observation: wherein we differ from our auncestors, the Saxons, in this, that they subscribed their names (commonly adding the signe of the crosse) together with a great number of witnesses: And we, for more suretie, both subscribe our names, put to our seales, and use the help of testimonie besides. That former fashion continued throughout without any sealing, even untill the time of the conquest by the Normans, whose manner by little and little at the length prevailed amongst us. For the first sealed Chartre in England, that ever I read of, is that of King Edward the Confessors to the Abbey of Westminster: who (being brought up in Normandie) brought into this Realme, that, and some other of their guises with him: And after the comming of William the Conqueror, the Normans, liking their owne countrie custome (as naturally all nations doe) reiected the manner that they found heere, and reteined their owne, as Ingulphus, the Abbat of Croyland, which came in

with the conquest, witnesseth, saying: *Normanni, cheirographorum confectionem, cum crucibus aureis, et aliis signaculis sacris, in Anglia firmari solitam, in ceræ impressionem mutant, modumque scribendi Anglicum rejiciunt:* The Normans (saith he) doe chaunge the making of writings, which were woont to be firmed in Englande with Crosses of golde and other holy signes, into the printing with waxe: and they reiect also the manner of the English writing. Howbeit, this was not done all at once, but it increased and came forward by certein steps and degrees, so that first and for a season, the King onely, or a few other of the Nobilitie besides him, used to seale: Then the Noblemen (for the most part) and none other: which thing a man may see in the historie of Battell Abbie, where Richard Lucy chiefe Iustice of Englande, in the time 1280.
of King Henrie the Seconde, is reported to have blamed a meane subiect, for that he used a private seale, when as that perteined (as he said) to the King, and Nobilitie onely. At which time also (as Iohn Rosse noteth it) they used to engrave in their seales, their owne pictures and counterfeits, covered with a long cote over their armours. But after this, the Gentlemen 1218.
of the better sort tooke up the fashion, and bicause they were not all warriours, they made seales of their severall coates or sheeldes of armes, for difference sake, as the same author reporteth. At the length, about the time of King Edwarde the Thirde, seales became very common, so that not only such as bare armes used to seale, but other men also fashioned to themselves signets of their owne devise, some taking the letters of their own names, some flowers, some knots and flourishes, some birds, or beasts, and some other things, as we now yet daily behold in use.

I am not ignoraunt, that some other manner of sealings besides these, hath been heard of amongst us, as namely that of King Edwarde the Thirde, by which he gave,

To Norman the Hunter, the hop and the hop towne,
with all the boundes up side downe:
And in witnes, that it was soothe,
He bitt the waxe with his fong toothe:

And that of Alberic de Veer also, conteining the donation of Hatfielde, to the which he affixed a shorte blacke hafted knife, like unto an olde halfpeny whitle, in stead of a seale: and such others, of which happily I have seene some, and heard of moe. But all that notwithstanding, if any man shall thinke, that these were received in common use and custome, and that they were not rather the devises and pleasures of a few singular persons, he is no lesse deceived, than such as deeme every Chartre and writing that hath no seale annexed, to be as ancient as the Conquest: whereas (indeede) sealing was not commonly used till the time of King Edward the Thirde, as I have already told you.

1184. Thus farre, by occasion of this olde Chartre, I am straied from the historie of Halling, of which I finde none other reporte in writing, save this, first that in the reigne of King Henrie the Seconde, Richard the Archbishop of Canterbury, and immediate successour to Thomas the Archtraitour of this Realme, ended his life in the mansion house there, which then was, and yet continueth, parcell of the possessions of the See of Rochester: The circumstaunce and cause of which his death and departure, I will reserve till I come to Wrotham, where I shall have just occasion to discover it.

Then, that Hamon of Hothe (Bishop of Rochester, and Confessor to King Edward the Second) raised from

the ground that Hall and high Front of the Bishops place which now standeth, re-edified the Mill at Holboroe neare unto it, and repaired the rest of the buildings here, as he did at Trosclif also, which is another Manor house belonging to the same See. At this place of the Bishop in Halling, I am drawing on the last Scæne of my life, where God hath given me *Liberorum Quadrigam*, all the fruite that ever I had.

As touching that Holboroe (or rather Holanbergh) it lieth in Snodland, perteining likewise to the same Bishop, and tooke the name of beorh, or the Hill of buriall, standing over it: in throwing downe a part whereof (for the use of the chalke) my late Neighbour, Maister Tylghman discovered in the very Centre thereof, *Urnam cineribus plenam*, an earthen pot filled with ashes, an assured token of a Romane Monument: the like whereof (as Twyne writeth) was in the reigne of King Henrie the Eight digged up at Barham downe, by Sir Christopher Hales, sometime Master of the Rolles.

And now, for want of a Bridge at Halling, we may use the Fery, and touch at Woldham, given by Ethelbert King of Kent, to Erdulph Bishop of Rochester in the yeere 751. and yet parcell of the possessions of the Cathedral Church there. It is the same in deede, that it hath in name polde, a faire downe (or Hill) without bush, or wood, opposite to penlde, which is a lowe woodie region: of the same reason, those large champaignes of Yorkswold, and Cotswolde, tooke their appellation also. But since here is none other thing woorthy Note, let us make towards Ailesforde: for there you may see the most assured marke of great Antiquitie, that we have within the Shyre of Kent.

AILESFORDE, *or* Eilesforde, *calleth in Bryttish (as Master Camden citeth out of Nennius)* Sassenaighai Bail, *of the overthrowe of the Saxons, called in some Saxon copies,* Ꝿzeleꝼꝼoꝛꝺ, *that is, the Foorde, or passage over the River* Egle, *or* Eile: *or rather the passage at* Ecclef *which is a place in this parish: In others* ꝳnꝿeleꝼꝼoꝛꝺ, *which is, the passage of the Angles, or English men It is falsly tearmed of some,* Alencester, *of some* Allepord, *and of others* Aelstrea, *by depravation of the writers out of the sundry copies as I suspect.*

455. WITHIN a fewe yeeres after the arrivall of the Saxons, the Britons (perceiving that Vortiger their King was withdrawen by his wife from them, and drawen to the part of their enimies) made election of Vortimer his sonne, for their Lord and leader: by whose manhood and prowesse, they in short time so prevailed against the Saxons, that (sleying Horsa, one of the Chieftaines, in an encounter given at this place, and discomfiting the residue) they first chased them from hence, as far as Tanet (in memorie of which flight, happily this place, was called Anglesford, that is, the passage of the Angles or Saxons) and after that compelled them to forsake the lande, to take shipping towarde their owne countrie, and to seeke a new supplie: Howbeit, as in warre and battaile, the victorie is commonly deere bought and paied for: So in this selfe conflicte (otherwise verie fortunate) the death of Horsa was recompenpensed with the losse of Categern,

one of the brothers of King Vortimer. And truely, had not the untimely death of King Vortimer himselfe also immediately succeeded, it was to be hoped, that the Saxons should never after have returned into this Iland.

But the want of that one man, both quailed the courage of the Britons, gave newe matter of stomacke to the Saxons to repaire their forces, and brought upon this Realme an alteration of the whole Estate and Government. The Britons neverthelesse in the meane space followed their victorie (as I saide) and returning from the chase, erected to the memorie of Categerne (as I suppose) that monument of foure huge and hard stones, which are yet standing in this parish, pitched upright in the ground, covered after the manner of Stonage (that famous Sepulchre of the Britons upon Salisburie plaine) and now tearmed of the common people heere Citscotehouse. For I cannot so much as suspect, that this should be that, which Beda and the others (of whom I spake in Chetham before) do assigne to be the Tombe of Horsa, which also was there slaine at the same time: partly bicause this fashion of monument was peculiar to the Britons, of which nation Categerne was, but chieflie for that the memorie of Horsa was by all likelyhood left at Horsted, a place not farre off, and both then and yet so called of his name, as I have already tolde you.

Citscote-house in Tottington Ground.

There landed within the Realme in the time of Alfred, two great swarmes of Danish Pyrates, whereof the one arrived neare Winchelsey, with two hundreth and fiftie saile of Ships, and passing along that river fortified at Apledore, as wee have shewed before: The other entred the Thamise, in a fleete of eighty 893.

saile, whereof part encamped themselves at Midleton on the other side of Kent, and part in Essex over against them.

These latter, King Alfred pursued, and pressed them so hardly, that they gave him both othes and hostages to depart the Realme, and never after to unquiet it. That done, he marched with his armie against those other also.

And bicause he understood, that they had divided themselves, and spoiled the Countrie in sundrie partes at once, he likewise divided his armie, intending (the rather by that meane) to meete with them in some one place or other: which when they hearde of, and perceived that they were unmeete to incounter him in the face, they determined to passe over the Thamise, and to ioyne with their countrymen in Essex, of whose discomfiture they had as yet received no tydings. But when they came at a place in this parish, called (both now and aunciently) Fernham, that is, the ferny Towne, or dwelling, one part of the Kings power couragiously charged them, and finding them given to flight, followed the chase upon them so fiercely, that they were compelled to take the Thamise without boate or bridge, in which passage there were a great number of them drowned, the residue having ynough to doe to save their owne lives, and to convey over their Capitaine, that had received a deadly wound.

Fernham.

The Danes compelled to take the Thamise.

1016. No lesse notable was that other chase, wherein (many yeeres after) Edmond Ironside, most fiercely pursued the Danes from Otforde to this towne: in which also (as some write) he had given them an irreparable overthrowe, had he not (by the fraudulent, and traiterous persuasion of one Edric, then Duke of

The Danes are chased from Otforde.

Mercia (or middle Englande) and in the Saxon speech surnamed, for his covetousnes, Streona, that is to say, the Getter, or gatherer) withdrawne his foote, and spared to follow them. Earle Edric, an infamous traitor.

No doubt, but that it is many times a part of good wisedome, and warlike policie, not to pursue over fiercely thine enimie that hath already turned his backe towardes thee, least thou compell him to make vertue of that necessitie, and he (turning his face againe) put thee in daunger to be overcome thy selfe, which before haddest in thine owne hande assurance to overthrowe him: In which behalfe, it was well saide of one, *Hosti fugienti, pons aureus faciendus*, If thine enimie will flie, make him a bridge of golde. Nevertheless, for as much as this advice, proceeded not from Eadric, of any care that he had to preserve King Edmonds power out of peril, but rather of feare lest the whole armie of Canutus should be overrun and destroied, he is iustly taxed for this, and other his treasons by our ancient historians, who also make report of the worthy reward, that in the ende he received for al his trechery.

For, this was he (as William Malmesburie writeth, though some others ascribe it to his sonne) that afterwardes (when these two Kings had by composition divided the Realme betweene them) most villanously murthered King Edmonde at Oxford, and was therefore done to death by King Canutus: who, in that one act shewed singular arguments, both of rare iustice, and of a right noble hart: Of iustice, for that he would not winke at the fault of him, by whose meanes he obteined the Monarchie of the whole realme: and of great Nobilitie of minde, in that he plainly declared A noble example of King Edmunde Ironside.

himselfe, to esteeme more of his owne honor, than of another mans Crowne and Scepter, and to have digested quietly that impatiencie of a partner in kingdome, which great Alexander thought as intolerable as two sunnes in the world at once: and which Romulus could in no wise brooke, since he would not suffer one kingdome to content him and Remus, whome one belly had conteined before.

There was at Ailesforde, a house of Carmelite and preaching Friars, the foundation whereof is by a Recorde ascribed to Richard the Lorde Gray of Codnor, in the time of King Henrie the third, upon whom the same King had bestowed the Manor it selfe, which (in assurance that it was sometime of the demeanes of the Crowne) is yet knowne to be Auncient Demesne. I finde neverthelesse, that in the time of King Iohn (father to this Henrie) one Osbert Gipford gave him forty markes, *pro habendo recto de Manerio de Elleisforde, quod Willmus de Caen, ei defarciat. (Rotul. fin. 9. Ioannis)* which I note for two reasons: the one to shew that it was aliened from the Crowne before the daies of Henrie the third: the other, for proofe of the Antiquitie of Fines paied upon the purchase of Writs Original.

MALLING, *in Saxon,* Mealinʒ, *of* Mealu inʒ, *that is, the Lowe place flourishing with meale, or Corne, for so it is every where accompted.*

THIS Towne was first given to Burhricus, the Bishop of Rochester, by King Edmund the Brother of Athelstane, under the name of three plough landes in Mealinges.

About one hundreth and fifty yeeres after which time, Gundulphus (a successour in that See, as you have read before) having amplified the buildings, and multiplied the number of the Monkes in his owne Citie, raised an Abbay of women here also: which (being dedicate to the name of the Blessed Virgin) during all his life he governed himselfe, and lying at the point of death, he recommended to the charge of one Auice (a chosen woman) to whom notwithstanding he would not deliver the Pastorall staffe, before she had promised Canonicall Obedience, and fidelitie, to the See of Rochester, and had protested by othe, that there should neither Abbasse nor Nonne, be from thencefoorth received into the house, without the consent and privitie of him, and his successors. 495. The Abbay.

Now, whether this *Rus propinquum*, and politique provision, were made of a blinde zeale that the man had to advaunce superstition, or of a vaine glorie to increase authoritie in his succession, or els of a foresight that the Monkes (which were for the most part called Monachi, of Sole living, by the same rule, that Montes have their name of remooving) might have a convenient place to resort unto, and where they might (*Caute*, at the least) quench the heats, kindled of their good cheare and idlenes, God knoweth, and I will not iudge: But well I wote, that this was a very common practise in Papistry: for as S. Augustines had Sepulchres: S. Albans Sopewel: Shene Sion: the knights of the Rodes, the Nonnes of Clerkenwell: all adioyning, or subject to such obedience: even so Sempringham, and some other of that sort, had bothe Male and Female within one house, and wall togither, the world being (in the meane while) borne in hand, that they 1106. The Solaces of Sole life.

were no men, but Images, as Phryne said sometime of Xenocrates. The house was valued in the Recordes, at 218. poundes of yeerely revenewe. The name hath (as you see) his termination in (ing) which betokeneth plainly that it hath a low scituation: for (ing) signifieth a lowe ground, or medow, and so remaineth knowen in the North countrie of England till this present daie: of which reason also, the names of Halling, Berlyng, Yalding, and others heere at hande, were at the first framed to ende in (ing) as this doth. For, as a Name is nothing else, but a worde appointed by consent of men to signifie a thing: Even so, the Saxons our auncestors endevored to fashion their names of places after a certaine naturall force and reason, taken from the scituation of the place it selfe (most commonly) *Ut fons, ut nemus, ut campus, placuit*, as Tacitus saieth of the olde Germanes.

The terminations, of the names of townes.

And hereof it falleth out, that a man (but meanly exercised in their language) may (for the most part) as readily understand the Scite, or soile, of their townes, by the onely sounde of the name, as by the verie sight of the place it selfe.

For proofe whereof, let us (if you will) take some of those names (or rather Terminations of names) that be most usuall in this Shyre.

Ford.

Crayford, Dertford, Ailesford, Asheford, and such like, ending in (Ford) do manifestly bewraye, that they be passages over those Rivers by which they do stande. For, (Ford) in olde English, is the same that *(Vadum)* is in Latine, the one being derived of (ꝑaꝑan) and the other of *(Vado)* both signifying, to go, or to wade, over.

Dene with them, betokeneth a valley, and Dune a hill: and heereof the lowe townes in the Weald, as Mardene, Smardene, Bydendene, Haldene, Tynterdene, and others, do beare their name of the one: And among high placed villages, as Kingsdowne, Luddesdowne, and the Boughdownes (though commonly called and written Boughtons) do reteine their calling of the other. ðene, and ðune.

Of ꝑẏꝛꝛ, signifying a woode, Ashehyrst, Spelhyrst, Lamberhyrst, Gowdhyrst, Hawkhyrst, and the names of many other wooddie parishes have gotten their last Syllable: And of ðæð, denoting the banke of a river, Plumstede, Brastede, Chepstede, Netlestede, and their fellowes, have gained the like. Hyrst. Steth.

Ea, which meaneth water, and which we nowe sounde (ey) closeth up the names of many marrish groundes and waterish places, as of Hartey, Sturrey, Oxney, and (besides others) of Rumney it selfe: The like may be affirmed of leaꝑ, a pasture, which we now likewise call (ley) being the last particle of Tudeley, Langley, Pluckley, and of many other good pastures and feedings. Ea. Leah.

I must purposely omit a number, that ende in Brooke, Boorne, Bridge, Land, Field, Hill, Dale, Clif, Woode, and such like, whereof no English man can doubt, that understandeth his mothers tongue.

Neither may I stand here to boult out the whole Etymologie (or reason) of every Townes name: For, to speake of the first sort, it were altogether needelesse, seeing that every man perceaveth what they meane as well as I: And, to attempt the latter, it were utterly endlesse, since they carie (almost) so many divers matters as they be several names: some of them

being drawen from the proper callings of men, some from the nature of the soile, some from the coast and manner of the scite, and some from some other causes, which it were not onely infinite to rehearse, but also impossible to disclose at this day.

And therefore, as I ment at the first to give you but a taste of this matter: So, for an end thereof, I wil leave you one note, which may not only leade you along this shyre, but also guide you (in manner) throughout the whole Realme, to discerne (probably) of the degrees and dignitie that towns and dwelling places had during the time of the auncient Saxons here, howsoever since their daies the same be chaunged, some to the better, some to the worse, and some from all maner of habitation.

How to discerne of townes, by the ending of their names.

Such therefore, as were then numbred in the inferiour sort and degree, are commonly founde to have their names to ende, either in Bye, Tun, Wic, Ham, or Sted. Bye, signified a dwelling, as Byan, did to dwell: Tun, which we now sounde (Ton) and (Towne) was derived of their woorde (Tynan) to tyne, or inclose with a hedge: Wic and Wice (for they bothe be one) was used for a place upon the edge of the Sea or River, and was borowed of the Latine woord *(Vicus)* though it be spoken Wic: for the Saxons (having no single v consonant in all their Alphabet) used to sound it as double w: making of Vinum, Ventus, and Via, Wine, Wynd, and Way.

Bỳe, tun, pic,

Ham, properly signified a Covering, and (by Metaphore) a house that covereth us: This woord, we here call (Home:) but the Northren men (not swarving so farre from the Original) sounde it still (Heam.)

Þam,

Finally, by (Sted) they meant a seate, or standing by a River, deriving it (happily) from the Latine

Steð,

woord *(Status:)* and by Thorpe, or Dorpe, a village, yet used in the lower Germaine.

Againe, such townes and dwellings as then were of greater price and estimation (either for the worthinesse of the owner, or for the multitude of the inhabitants, or for the strength or beautie of the building it selfe) had their names shut up commonly with one of these five particles, Ceaster, Biry, Burgh, Healle, or Weorth: Chester, denoted a walled or fortified place, being the same both in woorde and weight that the Latine *(Castrum)* is: Bury, or Biry (then byrig) was used for a court, or place of assembly: Burh (now also Burgh, and sometimes Burrough) is none other in sounde or substance, than πύργος in Greeke, which we now call a Towre, of the Latine name *(Turris:)* Healle, or (as we now speake it) Hall, is all one with the Latine *Aula*, or Greeke αὐλή: Weorth (which also is now spoken, Woorth) signified *Atrium*, a base court, or yarde, such as is commonly before the better sorte of houses. And thus much generally, and for this purpose, may suffice: For, to deale thorowly herein, belongeth rather to a peculiar Dictionarie, than to this kinde of treatie and discourse.

ceaſter.

byrig.

burh.

healle.

peorþ, which some derive of the German word (werd) a poole.

BOCKINFOLDE *commonly: but truly* buccenpeal8, *that is, either the Wood of Buckes, or of Beeches: for the Mast of Beeche is called Bucke also.*

KING Edward the second, being (in the 19. yeere of his reigne) upon the way towardes Fraunce, for the dooing of his Homage, due for his Duchie of Aquitane, suddenly drewe backe his foote, and withdrewe him

selfe to this place, where he reposed him somewhile, and caused many to bee endited for their unlawfull Huntings. The same time, his ghostly Father (or Confessour) Hamon the Bishop of Rochester, sent him thither a present of his drinkes, and withall both wine and grapes of his owne growth in his vineyarde at Halling, which is now a good plaine meadoe.

COMBWELLE: *that is, the spring in the place betweene two hilles.*

ROBERT of Thurnham was the Author and founder of the Abbay of Combwell and Friers there, in the reigne of King Henrie the seconde, for the Honour (as he thought) of Saint Mary, and therefore bestowed his landes upon it. And King Henrie the thirde, not onely confirmed that guift of his, but moreover vouchsafed to the Prior and Chanons there his owne graunt of a Faire by two daies together, on the feast and morow of S. Mary Magdalene yeerely. The yeerely revennew hath appeered before, and more I had not speak of this place.

ASHYRST, *in Saxon,* Æscþyrst, *that is, the Wood of Ashes.*

The Roode of Ashyrst, was a growing Idol.

IN the South West corner of this shire, towarde the confines of Sussex and Surrey, lieth Ashyrst, a place nowe a daies so obscure (being little better than a Towne of two houses) that it is not woorthy the visit-

ing: but yet in olde time so glorious for a Roode which it had of rare propertie, that many vouchsafed to bestowe bothe their labour and money upon it.

It was beaten (forsooth) into the heades of the common people (as what thing was so absurde, which the Clergie could not then make the worlde to beleeve:) that the Roode (or Crucifix) of this church, did by certaine increments continually wax and growe, as well in the bush of haire that it had on the head, as also in the length and stature of the members, and bodie it selfe. By meanes whereof it came to passe, that wheras before time the fruits of the Benefice were hardly able to susteine the Incumbent, now by the benefite of this invention (which was in papistrie, *Novum genus aucupii*) the Parson there, was not onely furnished by the offering to live plentifully, but also well aided toward the making of a rich Hoorde.

But as Ephialtes, and Oetus, the sonnes of Neptune, who (as the Poets feigne) waxed nine inches every moneth, were so heaved up with the opinion, and conceite of their owne length and hautinesse, that they assaulted heaven, intending to have pulled the Gods out of their places, and were therefore shot thorowe, and slaine with the arrowes of the Gods: Even so, when Popish idolatrie was growne to the ful height and measure, so that it spared not to rob God of his due honour, and most violently to pull him (as it were) out of his seate, even then this growing Idoll and all his fellowes, were so deadly wounded, with the heavenly arrowes of the woord of God (*Qui non dabit gloriam suam sculptilibus*, which will not give over his glorie to any graven woorkmanship,) that soone after they gave up the ghost, and left us.

TUNBRIDGE, *called (after Mathew Par.)* Thunebrugge, *corruptly for* tonebꝛýcze, *that is, the Bridge over Tone: but if it be truely written* tunbꝛýcze, *then it signifieth, the towne of Bridges, as in deede it hath many.*

ALTHOUGH I finde no mention of Tunbridge in that copie of Domesdaye booke (which I have seen) concerning the description of this Shyre: yet reade I in historie, that there was a Castle at Tunbridge soone after the Conquest, if not even at the same time when that booke was compiled.

The Castle.

For, omitting that which Hector Boetius writeth concerning a battel at Tunbridge, wherein the Conquerour (as he saith) should prevaile against Harolde, bicause it is evidently false and untrue, unlesse he meane it of the continuance of the chase after the fight even to Tunbridge, I have read, that at such time, as Odo (ioining with others of the Nobilitie) made defection from William Rufus to Robert his elder brother, the King besieged at Tunbridge one Gilbert, then keeper of the Castle, and compelled him to yeelde it. Happily this Odo (being the Kings uncle, and of great authoritie within the Shire, as we have before shewed) had erected this Castle, and given the charge to Gilbert: but howsoever that were, certaine it is that the Castle was long time holden of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and continued many yeeres together in the possession of the Earles of Clare, afterwards called of Gloucester.

1088.

For, in the daies of King Henrie the second, Thomas the Archbishop required homage of Roger then Earle of Gloucester for his Castle of Tunbridge, who, knowing the King to be halfe angrie with the Archbishop, and wholy on his owne side, shaped him a short answer, affirming stoutly, that it was none of his, but the Kings owne, as a lay fee. 1163.

Falcasius (a hired Souldiour, that was enterteined by King Iohn, during the warres with his Nobilitie) tooke by force this Castle from the Earle of Gloucester, and kept it for a season to the Kings behoofe. 1215.

King Henrie the thirde also, after the death of Gilbert the Earle of Gloucester, seized the Wardship of his Heire, and committed the custodie of this Castle to Hubert of Burgh: But Richarde the Archbishop (surnamed the great) being offended thereat, came to the King in great haste, and made his claime, by reason, that the Earle Gilbert died in his homage: the King gave answere, that the whole Earledome was holden of him, and that hee might lawfully commit the custodie of the landes to whome soever it liked himselfe: Hereat the Bishop waxed warme, and tolde the King plainly, that since he could not have right within the realm, he would not spare to seek it abrode: and foorthwith hasted him to the holy Father at Rome, where he so used the matter, that he obteined iudgement for his part, but he for all that never had execution, by reason that he died in his returne towarde home. Yet you may here see, by the way, that in those daies, there was no Lawe in Englande to rule the proude Prelacie withall, no not so much, as in things meere Lay and temporall. 1231.

The Clergie was lawlesse.

The same King Henrie graunted to Richarde Clare,

1259. Earle of Gloucester and Hereforde, licence to Wall, and Embattell his Towne of Tunbridge, by these woordes in that Charter, *Claudere muro, et kernellare:* which latter woord, being made Latine out of the French Charneaux, signifieth that indented forme of the top of a Wall which hath Vent, and Creast, commonly called Embatteling; bicause it was very serviceable in fight to the defendant within, who might at the loopes (or lower places) annoy the enimy that assailed him, and might withall shrowd himselfe under the higher partes, as under the favour of a shield.

This manner of warlike Wall, was ever more prohibited within this realme, for feare of inwarde Sedition, and was therefore (amongst many other Articles) inquirable before the Escheatour, by the woordes, *De domibus carnellatis,* which I the rather note, bicause I have knowen many to stumble at it.

Concerning this intended Wall at Tunbridge, either the Earle did nothing therein, or that which he did is now invisible, and come to naught. But the same King Henrie, within foure yeeres after, and not long before the Battaile at Lewys in Sussex, having burned the Citie of Rochester, suddenly also surprised this Castle at Tunbridge, wherein he found (amongst other) the Countesse of Gloucester: But it was not long before he stored the Castle with men of warre, and restored the Ladie to her former libertie.

The Priorie at Tunbridge

There was sometime neare to this Castle, a Priorie, whereof the Earles of Gloucester and their Heires were reputed the first Authors and patrones. And in our memorie, there was erected a faire Free Schoole, by the honest liberalitie of Sir Andrew Iudde, a 1558. Citizen and Maior of London, which submitted the

same to the order and oversight of the company of Skinners there, whereof himselfe had beene a member. Neither may I with silence slippe over, the great stone causey, raised at the end of the towne in the high way towardes London, by the charitable charges of John Wilforde another citizen of London, almost thirty yeeres before.

Round about the Towne of Tunbridge, lieth a territory, or compasse of ground, commonly called the Lowy, but written in the auncient Records and Histories Leucara, or Leuga, and being (indeede) a French League of ground, which (as I finde in the Chronicles of Normandie) was allotted at the first upon this occasion following. There was in Normandie, a Towne (and lande thereunto adioining) called Bryonnie, which was of the auncient possession of the Dukedome, and had continually remained in the hands of the Dukes there, till such time as Richard (the second Duke of that name) gave it amongst other Landes to Godfrey, his naturall brother, for his advauncement in living. The Lowy of Tunbridge.

This Godfrey enioyed it all his life, and left it to one Gislebert his sonne (which happily was Gilbert the Capitaine of Tunbridge Castle, of whome we had mention before) who also held it so long as he lived. But after the death of Gislebert, Robert (the Duke of Normandy, and eldest Sonne to King William the Conqueror) being earnestly laboured to bestowe it upon one Robert, Earle Mellent (whose ofspring were sometimes Earles of Leycester within this Realme) seazed it into his owne handes, pretending to unite it to the Dukedome againe. But when Richarde (the Sonne of Gislebert understoode of this, he put to his

claime, and making his title by a long continued possession (even from Godfrey his grandfather) so encountred the suite of Earle Mellent, that to stoppe Richards mouth withall, it was by the device of the Earle, and by the mediation of Duke Robert, (which he made to his brother William Rufus) brought to passe, that Richarde should receive in recompence, the Towne of Tunbridge in England, and so much lande about it, as Bryonnie it selfe conteined in circuite.

And to the ende that the indifferencie of the dealing might appeere, and his full satisfaction bee wrought, they caused Bryonnie and the land about it to be measured with a line, which they afterward brought over with them into England, and applying the same to Tunbridge and the land adioining, laid him out the very like in precinct and quantitie: in so much that long time after, it was a common and receaved opinion in Normandie, that the Leagues of Bryonnie and Tunbridge, were all one in measure and compasse.

This, together with the Towne and Castle, came at the length (as you have seene) to the handes of the
1264. Earles of Gloucester, betweene whome, and the Arch-
42. Hen. 3. bishops of Canterbury, there arose oftentimes contention, both for the limits of this league, and for the pre-eminence of their privileges. At the last, Boniface the Archbishop (next but one in succession after Richard, of whome we spake before) and Richard the Earle (and Heire to Gilbert) agreed in the reigne of King Henrie the third, upon a perambulation to be made betweene them, and so the strife for their bounds was brought to an end.

But as touching their privileges, and jurisdiction in

the place, it fel out by inquisition in the time of King Edwarde following, that the Archbishop had nothing to do within the league, that the Earle had returne of Writs, creation of certaine Officers, an especiall sessions in Eire, &c. most of which things the Towne hath not these manye yeeres enioyed.

But yet it was agreed, after the perambulation so made betweene Boniface and the Earle Richard, that the Earle and his heires should hold the Manors of Tunbridge, Vielstone, Horsmund, Melyton, and Pettys, of the Archbishop and his successours, by the service of foure knights fees, and to be high Stewardes, and high Butlers, to the Archbishops at the great feast of their inthronizations, taking for their service in the Stewardship, seven competent Robes of Scarlet, thirtie gallons of wine, thirtie pound of waxe for his light, liverie of Hay and Oats for fourescore horse by two nights, the dishes and salt which should stand before the Archbishops in that Feast, and at their departure the diet of three days at the costes of the Archbishops at foure of their next Manors, by the foure quarters of Kent, wheresoever they would, *Adminuendum sanguinem*, So that they repaired thither, but with fiftie horses onely: And taking also for the office of Butlership, other seven like robes, twenty gallons of wine, fifty pounde of waxe, like livery for threescore Horses by two nights, the cup wherwith the Archbishops shoulde be served, all the emptie hogsheads of drinke, and (for sixe tunne of wine) so many as should be drunke under the barre also.

The Archbishop, hath an Earle to his Butler.

The Articles of which their composition, were afterward accordingly perfourmed: first betweene Gilbert Earle of Gloucester, and Robert Winchelsey the Arch-

1295. bishop: next betweene the same Earle, and the Archbishop Reignoldes: Then betweene Hugh Audley the Earle of Gloucester, and the Archbishop Iohn Stratford: After that, betweene the Earle of Stafford (to whome the Lordship of Tunbridge at the length came) and Simon Sudbury Archbishop, in that See: and lastly betweene William Warham the Archbishop, and Edward the late Duke of Buckingham, who also executed the Stewardship in his owne person, and the
1504. Butlership by his Deputy Sir Thomas Burgher, Knight: the whole pompe, and ceremonie whereof, I have seene at greater length set foorth, and described, than is meete for this time and place to be recounted.

DEPEFORDE, *in Latine* Vadum profundum, *and in auncient Evidences,* West Greenwiche.

THIS towne, being a frontier betweene Kent and Surrey, was of none estimation at all, untill that King Henrie the eight, advised (for the better preservation of the Royall Fleete) to erect a Storehouse, and to create certaine officers there: these he incorporated by the name of the Maister and Wardeins of the Holie Trinitie, for the building, keeping, and conducting, of the Navie Royall.

The Masters of the Navie Roiall.

There was lately re-edified, a fayre wooden bridge also, over the Brooke called Ravensbourne, which riseth not farre off, at Hollowoods hill, in the parish of Kestane, and setting on woorke some Corne milles, and one for the glasing of Armour, slippeth by this Towne into the Thamyse, carying continuall matter of a great Shelfe with it.

GREENEWICHE, *in Latine,* Viridis sinus: *in Saxon* ȝpenapic; *that is to say, the Greene Towne. In ancient evidences,* Eastgreenewiche, *for difference sake from* Depford, *which in olde Instruments, is called* Westgreenewiche.

IN the time of the turmoiled King Ethelred, the whole fleete of the Danish army lay at roade two or three yeeres together before Greenewich: And the souldiors, for the most part, were incamped upon the hill above the towne, now called Blackheath.

During this time, they pearced this whole countrie, sacked and spoiled the Citie of Canterburie, and brought from thence to their ships, Aelphey, the Archbishop. And here, a Dane (called Thrum) whome the Archbishop had confirmed in Christianitie the day before, strake him on the head behinde and slew him, bicause he would not condescend to redeeme his life with three thousand pounds, which the people of the Citie and Diocesse were contented to have given for his raunsome: Neither would the rest of the souldiors suffer his body to be committed to the earth, after the maner of Christian decencie, till such time (saith William of Malmesb.) as they perceived that a dead sticke, being annointed with his bloud, waxed suddenly greene againe, and began the next day to blossome. Which by all likelyhood was gathered in the wood of *Dea Feronia:* for she was a Goddesse, whom the Poets do phantasie to have caused a whole woode (that was on fire) to waxe greene againe: of whom Vergile said, *Et viridi gaudens Feronia luco.*

1011.

Ælphey, the Archbishop was cruelly slaine.

But, referring the credit of that, and such other unfruitful miracles (wherewith our auncient monkish stories doe swarme) to the iudgement of the godly and discreete Readers, most assured it is, that about the same time, such was the storme and furie of the Danish insatiable ravine, waste, spoile, and oppression, within this Realme besides, that of two and thirtie Shyres (into which number the whole was then divided) they herried and ransacked sixteene, so that the people being miserably vexed, the King himselfe (to avoide the rage) first sent over the Seas his wife and children: afterward compounded, and gave them a yeerely tribute: and lastly for very feare forsooke the Realm, and fled into Normandie himselfe also.

32. Shyres in England.

1013.

Great sumes of money paied to the Danes.

They received (besides daily victuall) fourtie eight thousand poundes in readie coyne of the subiects of this Realme, whilest their King Swein lived: and twentie one thousand after his death under his sonne Canutus: upon the payment whereof, they made a corporall othe, to serve the King (as his feodaries) against all straungers, and to live as friendes and allies without endamaging his subiects.

1015.

But how little they perfourmed promise, the harmes that daily followed in sundrie parts, and the exalting of Canutus their owne countrieman to the honour of the Crowne, were sufficient witnesses.

In memorie of this Campe, certaine places within this parish, are at this daie called Combes, namely Estcombe, Westcombe, and Midlecombe almost forgotten: for Comb and Compe in Saxon (being somewhat declined from *Campus* in Latine) signifieth a field or campe for an Armie to soiourne in: And in memorie of this Archbishop Aelpheg, the parish

Church of Greenewiche (being at the first dedicated to his honour) remaineth known by his name even till this present day.

Thus much of the antiquitie of the place: concerning the latter historie, I read, that it was soone after the conquest, parcell of the possessions of the Bishop of Lysieux in France, and that it bare service to Odo, then Bishop of Baieux, and Earle of Kent: After that, the Manor belonged to the Abbat of Gaunt in Flaunders, till such time as King Henrie the fift, seising into his handes (by occasion of warre) the landes of the Priors Aliens, bestowed it, togither with 1416. the manor of Lewsham, and many other landes also, upon the Priorie of the Chartre-house Monkes of Shene, which he had then newly erected: to this it remained, untill the time of the reigne of King Henrie the eight, who annexed it to the Crowne, wherunto it now presently belongeth. The Priorie of Shene.

The Observant or graye Friers, that sometime lived at Greenwiche (as Iohn Rosse writeth) came thither about the latter end of the reigne of King Edwarde 1480. the fourth, where they obtained by the means of Sir William Corbrige (as some thinke) a Chauntrie with a 1509. little Chapel of the holy crosse, a place yet extant in the towne: And (as Polydore and Lilly say) King Henrie the seventh builded for them that house adioining to the Palaice, which is there yet to be seene. But, least I may seeme to have saide much, of small matters: and to have forgotten the principall ornament of the Towne: I must (before I ende with Greenewiche) say somewhat of the Princes Palaice there. The Frierie.

Humfrey therefore the Duke of Gloucester, and Protectour of the Realme (a man no lesse renowmed The Palaice.

for approved vertue, and wisedome, than honoured for his high estate and parentage) was the first that laid the foundations of the faire building in the towne, and towre in the Parke, and called it his Manor of pleasance.

After him King Edwarde the fourth bestowed some cost to enlarge the woorke: Henry the seventh followed, and beautified the house with the addition of the brick front toward the water side: but King Henrie the eight, as he exceeded all his progenitors in setting up of sumptuous housing, so he spared no cost in garnishing Greenwiche, till he had made it a pleasant, perfect, and Princely Palaice.

1516. Marie his eldest daughter (and after Queene of the realme) was borne in this house: Queen Elizabeth his other daughter, our most gratious and gladsome Govenour, was likewise borne in this house: and his deere sonne King Edwarde (a miracle of Princely towardnesse) ended his life in the same house.

One accident touching this house, and then an end: it happened in the reigne of Queen Marie, that the Master of a Ship, passing by whilest the Court lay there, and meaning (as the manner and dutie is) with saile and shot to honour the Princes presence, unadvisedly gave fire to a peece, charged with a pellet insteede of a tamion, the which lighting on the Palaice wall, ran through one of the privie lodgings, and did no further harme.

BLACKHEATH, *of the colour of the Earth, or* blæcꝑeaþ, *of the high and cold situation: for bleake signifieth cold also.*

ADIOYNING to Greenewiche, lieth the plaine, called (of the colour of the soile) Blackheathe, the which, besides the burthen of the Danish Campe (whereof we spake even now) hath borne three severall rebellious assemblies: One in the time of King Richard the second, moved (as it shall appeere anon in Dartford) by Wat Tylar, whom William Walworth, then Maior of London, slewe with his Dagger, in Smithfield: in memorie whereof, the Citie had given them (for increase of honour) a Dagger, to be borne in their shielde of armes for ever.

The rebellion of Wat Tylar. 1380.

Iack Cade (that counterfeit Mortimer) and his fellowes, were leaders of the second: who passing from hence to London, did to death the Lord Say, and others, in the time of King Henrie the sixt.

The rebellion of Iack Cade.

These two (besides other harmes) that usually do accompanie the mutinie and uprore, of the common and rascal sort) defaced fouly the Recordes and monuments, both of the lawe, and Armourie: the partes of Rolles remaining yet halfe brent, doe witnesse the one: And the Heralds unskill (comming through the want of their olde bookes) is sufficient testimonie of the other.

The thirde insurrection was assembled by Michaell Ioseph (the black Smith) and the Lord Audley, under the reigne of King Henrie the seventh: at which time, they and their complices received their iust desert, the

The rebellion of the blacke Smith.

common number of them being discomfited and slaine, and the leaders themselves taken, drawen, and hanged.

Of this last their remaineth yet to be seene upon the Heathe, the place of the Smithes Tent, called commonly his forge: And of all three, the grave hilles of such as were buried after the overthrowe.

Grave hilles, or hillocks.

These hillocks, in the West Countrie (where in no small store of the like) are called Barowes, of the olde English woord burȝ Þeȝ; which signifieth Sepulchres, or places of burying, which last word Burying (being a spring of that olde stocke) we doe yet reteine alive.

The first and last of these commotions, were stirred of grief that the common people conceaved, for the demaund of two subsidies, of which the one was unreasonable, bicause it was taxed upon the Polls, and exempted none: The other was unseasonable, for that it was exacted, when the heads of the common people were full of Parkin Warbeck.

The third and midlemost, grew upon a grudge, that the people took for yeelding up the Duchie of Angeow, and Maynie, to the King of Sicil: The comming in of whose daughter (after that the King would needes have her to wife, notwithstanding his precontract made with the Earle of Armenac) was not so ioyfully embraced by the Citizens of London upon Blackheath, wearing their red hoods, badges, and blew gownes: as in sequele, the marriage, and whole government itselfe, was knowen to be detested of the countrie Commons, by bearing in the same place, Harnesse, Bowes, Billes, and other Weapon.

But, bicause I cannot (without paine and pitie) enter into the consideration of these times and matters, I will discourse no further thereof now, but cross over

the next way to Lesnes, and (prosecuting the rest of the boundes of this Bishopricke) take some other time and place for it. Leaving you nevertheless to knowe, that Blackheath hath borne some other gorgeous and more pleasant spectacles: as that of King Henrie the fift, when he receaved Sigismund the Emperour: and that also of King Henrie the eight, when he brought in the Lady Anne of Cleve. 1415. 1539.

LESNES, *mistaken (as I thinke) for* Lepper (Leswes) *which signifieth, Pastures.*

I COULD easily have beleeved, that the name Lesnes, had been derived out of the Frenche, and that it had beene first imposed at the foundation of the Abbay, saving that I finde the place registred in the booke of Domesday, by the very same, and none other calling. And therefore I am the rather led to think that the name is Saxon, and there miswritten (as many other be, by reason that the Normans were the penners of that Booke) Lesnes, for Leswes, the which woord, (in the Saxon tongue) signifieth Pastures, and is not as yet utterly forgotten, forasmuch as til this day pastures be called Lesewes in many places.

This is my fantasie touching the name, wherein if I faile, it forceth not greatly, since the matter is no more weightie: Concerning the Historie of the place, I finde, that after such time as King Henrie the second had not onely purged himselfe by a corporal oath, that he was neither aiding nor consenting to the slaughter of Thomas the Archbishop: but had also

submitted himselfe to performe such penance as it should please Pope Alexander to lay upon him: Then triumpheth the holy father for ioy of his victory, and taking his owne pleasure in all the matter, first sendeth the deed-doers down to the Divell with his black curse, and then in open councell canonizeth Becket for a shyning Saint, and alloweth him place in heaven above. This being once done, what remaineth (I pray you) but that altars should be raised, incense burned, guifts offered, praiers powred out, religious orders invented, and divine woorship exhibited, to this our newe found Godlyng? The which thing, that it might with the more countenance and credite be brought to passe, and that the example also might invite others to follow and do the like, the Lord Richarde Lucy (then chiefe Iustice of England, and thereby the second person in this realme) offereth himselfe to go before and leade this holy daunce. He therefore commeth out of Essex, and taking his paterne from King Henrie the first (which had builded a conventuall church at Colchester to the honour of S. Iohn the Baptist) laieth heere at Westwoode in Lyesnes, the foundations of such a like woorke, and dedi-
1179. cateth it in like sort to the name of S. Thomas the Martyr.

Now truly, if he thought that he had espied any resemblance, betweene S. Iohn the Baptist, and this shrewd Bishop, it is a plaine token, that he looked no further than to the uttermost vizare, which if he had pulled off, and had viewed the very visage it selfe, he should easily have founde that there had beene no cause at all to resemble them. For, albeit that Becket was slaine by the Kings servants for that he encoun-

tred with King Henrie their maister, even as Iohn the Baptist was beheaded bicause he boldly reprehended King Herodes fact to his owne face: yet, if the cause make the martyr (as no doubt it doth) then is this but a vizare: for Iohn was the forerunner of our Lorde Christ, and Becket was a wilfull follower of the Pope, which by al scripture and good interpretors, is very Antichrist: Iohn withstood King Herode for his wicked adulterie, and Becket withstoode King Henrie in the execution of godly iustice: Iohn preached to al men repentance of former misdoing, and Becket proclaimed to his shavelings, immunitie of condigne punishment, even in a case of most wicked murthering: and this is the lively visage in deede, both of the one and the other.

But loe, this great man may stand for one good proofe, that the wisedome of this worlde, is foolishnesse with God, &c.

And by this woorke and such other every man may understande, with what cost of buildings, varietie of sectes, plenty of possessions, and care of great personages, Poperie was in times past provided for, and appareiled. No corner almost (you see) which had not some one religious house, or other: Their sundry suites and orders are hardly to be numbred: to behold their landes and revennues, it was halfe a worlde: and he lived without glorie, and died without fame, that endevoured not by one means or other to amend them. I dare affirme, that the cleere yeerely extent of the religious houses within this one shyre, amounted to five thousand poundes, at the least, the Bishoprickes, Deanries, Archdeaconries, parsonages, vicarages, frieries, chaunteries, heremitages, Saintes offer-

The value of the religious houses in Kent.

ings, and such others, not accounted. And this I do the rather note, to the end that you may see, how iust cause is given us at this day, both to wonder at the hoat zeale of our auncestors in this spirituall fornication, and to lament the coldnesse of our owne charitie towards the maintenance of the true spouse of Christ. For, if ever, now most truly, is that verified which the Poet long since said, *Probitas laudatur, et alget*, vertue is praised, but starveth for cold: God (in his good pleasure) blowe upon our harts with his holy spirite, and kindle in us a new and true fire to warme it againe.

After this done, not only Reignold and Godfrey (two of the Sons of the said Richard, and of whom the latter was Bishop of Winchester) added somewhat to their fathers guift, but also King Iohn by his Chartre (dated at Dover in the seventh yeere of his reigne) confirmed whatsoever had beene done, and gave many immunities and favours unto the place, by the wordes, *Deo, et Ecclesiæ beati Thomæ Martyris de Westwood in Lyesnes, et canonicis ibidem.* These Chanons were of the Order of the Augustines: and as they were devoted to Thomas Becket: So were they devoured by Thomas Wolsey, being of that number which he suppressed for his Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich.

The Marshes at Lyesnes.

The Annales of Saint Augustines doe report that in the yeere after Christ 1279. the Abbat and Covent of Lyesnes inclosed a great part of their Marshe in Plumsted, and that within twelve yeeres after they Inned the rest also to their great benefite. And this continued untill about the yeere 1527. at which time the River of Thamise made irruption in two places, the one at Plumstede, and the other at Earyth, which

(thorow the untowardnesse of some owners and occupiers) was not recovered of long time after, notwithstanding the statute made 22. of Henry the eight, for the speedie paiment of the Taxes and Scotes imposed upon the same: in so much as if the King with his treasure, and Sir Edward Boughton with his industrie had not interposed themselves, that whole levell of rich lande had beene utterly surrounded and lost. Some partes were recovered, but the quantitie of two thousand acres lay still under water, whereof the owners had none other profite, but onely by fishing and cutting of Reede.

At the length, in the reigne of our Sovereigne that now is, certaine gentlemen and merchantes undertook the Inning of the whole, for the one half to be had to themselves: and for assurance to them, and furtherance of the enterprise, sundry actes of Parlement have passed in the 14. 23. and 27. yeeres of her Maiesties reigne, by meanes whereof, first the lesser breach was stopped, and therewith about five hundred acres rescewed from the River: after that, in the yeere 1587. there was an Inning of one thousand acres more, whereof the Inners (by the benefite of the last Statute) enioyed the one halfe and an eight part of the other halfe, leaving onely the residue to the owners. The great Breache is not yet made up, whereby five hundred Acres (or thereabouts) next to Lyesnes, are still maistered by the Water: but so, as it daily giveth way, and filleth up the lande with his residence (or bottome) which maketh hope, that the same also within short time, and with no great cost, may be made sounde and sweete lande againe.

EARETHE, *derived (as I gesse) of* Ærepÿðe, *that is, the olde Haven.*

The ancient manner of the triall of right to Landes.

FOR plaine example, that our Elders before the Conquest, had their trials for title of lande, and other controversies in each shire, before a Judge, then called Alderman, or Shireman, of whome there is very frequent mention in the lawes of our auncestours the Saxons, the which some yeeres since were collected and published in one volume: and for assured proofe also, that in those daies they used to proceede in such causes by the oathes of many persons (testifying their opinion of his credite, that was the first swearer, or partie) after the manner of our daily experience, as in the oath yet in ure, and called commonly Wager of Lawe, is to be seene: I have made choice of one Historie, conteining briefly the narration of a thing done at this place, by Dunstane the Archbishop of Canterburie, almost a hundreth yeeres before the comming of King William the Conquerour.

970. A rich man (saith the text of Rochester) being owner of Cray, Eareth, Ainesford, and Woldham, and having none issue of his body, devised the same lands (by his last will, made in the presence of Dunstane, and others) to a kinswoman of his owne, for life, the Remainder of the one halfe thereof, after her death, to Christes Church at Canterbury, and of the other halfe to Saint Androwes of Rochester, for ever: he died, and his wife tooke one Leoffun to husband, who (overliving her) reteined the lande as his owne, notwith-

standing that by the fourme of the devise, his interest was determined by the death of his wife.

Hereupon complaint came to one Wulsie, for that time the Scyneman, or Judge of the Countie (as the same booke interpreteth it) before whome, both Dunstane the Archbishop, the parties themselves, sundrie other Bishops, and a great multitude of the Lay people, appeered, all by appointment at Eareth: and there in the presence of the whole assembly, Dunstane (taking a crosse in his hand) made a corporall oath upon the booke of the Ecclesiasticall lawes, unto the Shyreman (which then tooke it to the Kings use, bicause Leoffun himselfe refused to receave it) and affirmed, that the right of these landes, was to Christes Church, and to Saint Androwes. The office of a Shyreman. Wager of Lawe.

For ratification and credite of which his oath, a thousand other persons (chosen out of East, and West Kent, Eastsex, Midlesex, and Sussex) tooke their oathes also, upon the crosse after him.

And thus, by this manner of iudgement, Christs Church and Saint Androwes were brought into possession and Leoffun utterly ejected for ever.

The towne of Eareth, is an ancient corporation, either by reputation, or Chartre, but whether it hath been at any time, of greater accompt, I finde not: and therefore, having already declared in maner, whatsoever it hath note woorthie, I will set downe this one thing, and leave it.

Toward the latter ende of the reigne of King Henrie the sixt, there were taken at this Towne, foure very great and rare fishes, of which one was then named to be *Mors Marina*, another a swoorde fish, and the rest were supposed to be Whales. 1457.

CRAYFORDE *(alias* Earde) *in Saxon* Creccanford, *that is, the Ford (or passage) over the water, then called* Crecca, *now* Cray.

Hengist, and Horsa.

AFTER the death of Horsa (of whome we have spoken in Ailesforde before) The Saxons made his brother Hengist their onely King and leader. And he, minding foorthwith to shew himselfe woorthie of his newly attained Honour, and willing to supply in himselfe the defect of his deceased Brother, pursued the Britons fiercely, and gave them sundrie great encounters: in divers of which, although he sped doubtfully, yet at the last meeting with them at Crayforde, he slew foure of their chiefe capitains, and so discomfited the whole number, that the Britons quite abondoned this countrie, and with great feare fled to London before him.

457.

The verie beginning of the Kentish Kingdome

After this fight, the Britons not onely never invaded Hengist (as Ralfe Higden writeth) but fled him like fire, as the Saxon Historie reporteth: so that even then, and not before, it might truely bee saide, that he had gained the possession of the Kentish kingdome. The place is named of the water Cray, which beginneth at Newell in Orpington (untruely so termed for Dorpendun, which signifieth the head, or spring of the Hill water) runneth by Saint Marie Cray, Poules Cray, Fotescray, and Crayford (to all which it likewise giveth name) and commeth at length to Dartford, where it mingleth with the River Darent, and so openeth into the Thamise.

Orpenton, and the course of Cray water.

There are to be seene, as well in the open Heath neare to this Towne, as also in the closed grounds about it, sundry artificiall Caves, or holes, in the earth, whereof some have ten, some fifteene, and some twenty fathoms in depth: at the mouth (and thence downeward) narrow, like to the Tonnell of a chimney, or passage of a well: but in the bottome large, and of great receipt: insomuch as some of them have sundry roomes (or partitions) one within another, strongly vaulted, and supported with pillars of chalke. Caves, under the ground.

And, in the opinion of the inhabitants, these were in former times digged, as well for the use of the chalke towardes building, as for to marle (or amend) their arable lands therewith. But I suppose, that they were made to another ende also, by the Saxons our auncestors, who (after the manner of their elders) used them as receptacles, and places of secret retraict, for their wives, children, and portable goodes, in the times both of civil dissention, and foreine invasion. For Cornelius Tacitus, treating of the maners of the olde Germanes (the verie Syres of these Saxons) writeth thus: *Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur, aut eò ipso fallunt quod quærenda sunt.* They use to dig (saith he) certeine Caves under the grounde: and if the enimie come he spoileth all that is abroade: but such things as bee thus hidden, either they lie unknowne, or otherwise they deceive him in that he is driven to seeke after thẹm. If these be not founde in other places, it is to be imputed to the soile, which in chalke onely will affoorde this woorkmanship. Besides that many beasts have tumbled into some of these: it happened a late Noble

person in following his Hauke, not without great perill of his life, to fall into one of them, that was at the least twelve fathoms deepe.

Upon the water of Cray, was lately builded a Mill, for the making of plates, whereof Armour is fashioned.

DARTFORDE, *in Saxon,* Depentford, *in Latine* Derenti vadum: *it signifieth, the ford, (or passage) over the River* Darent.

Mesopotamia signifieth a country encompassed with rivers

NOW be we returned into Mesopotamia, for so me thinketh that this countrie lying betweene the rivers of Darent and Medway, may not unaptly be termed.

And here you must call to minde that, which you heard in Rochester before: namely, that King Iohn wan the Castle of Rochester from William Dalbiney, through the faint hart and cowardize of Robert Fitzwalter, whome the Nobilitie had sent of purpose to rescue it: and now (the place so requiring) you shall understand the whole maner of the thing, and how it happened.

Rochester Castle besieged.

The Noble men, that mainteined the warre against King Iohn, understanding that he laide siege to the Castle at Rochester, and fearing that William Dalbiney (or Dalbinet) the Capitaine thereof coulde not long defende it without supply of such things as he wanted, and they could not well minister: determined to give some adventure to raise the siege. And for
1215. that purpose, made Robert Fitzwalter general of a great armie. This man, when he came to Dartforde, mette with a Gentleman of the order of the Temple, of

whom he demaunded sundry questions for intelligence of the number of the Kings campe: Who (finding him to be afraid) told him of set purpose, that the Kings armie was much greater than his, whereas in deede his power was thrise so big as the Kings: Hereupon Robert, (being with this false terrour stricken into an exceeding great feare, whose companion is flight, as Homer well saith) without further inquisition, sought to save himselfe by the swiftnes of his feet, and so through a faint hart left Rochester to the uttermost adventure.

If King Iohn had followed, I thinke it woulde have become of this man, as it sometime chaunced of a certaine white livered fellow: who hearing great praise of Hercules strength, foorthwith conveyed himselfe into a cave, and whenhe had spied him (by chaunce) passing that way, he died out of hand for extreme feare.

1235. Princes, may wooe by picture, and marrie by proctor

I read, that in the time of King Henry the third, Frederick the Emperour sent hither the Archbishop of Colein, accompanied with sundry Noble personages, to demaunde Isabell the Kings sister to bee given him in marriage: the which (forasmuch as the Embassadours liked the young Lady wel) was (after such a solemnization as in absence may be perfourmed) married unto him at this towne, and then delivered to the Orators to be caried over.

Whereby I make coniecture, that although there be not in storie, mention of any great building at Dartforde, before the time of the Abbay, which was raised long after this marriage: yet there was some faire house of the Kings, or of some others, even at this time there: For otherwise, I knowe not how to make

it a meete place for so honourable an appointment. But leaving all coniecture, certaine it is, that afterwarde King Edwarde the third about the 24. year of his reigne, founded there a faire Monasterie consisting of a Prioresse, (who was a Recluse) and of 39. Sisters, that were after the Order and rule of the Friars preachers of Saint Augustine, dedicating their Service to Saint Marie and S. Margaret, the virgins. And bicause some imperfections were found in divers of his graunts, King Edwarde the fourth in the seventh yeere of his reigne vouchsafed them a new patent of confirmation and amendment. The revennew of this house, at the general dissolution, was found to be three hundreth and eightie pounds by yeere, and of it King Henrie the eight (not without great cost) made a fit house for himselfe and his successors.

The Abbay.

The same King Edward the thirde, at one time in his returne from Fraunce, proclaimed a generall Torneament (or Iustes) to be holden at Dartforde, which he and his Nobles perfourmed most honourablie.

The old manner of Tourneament. 1331.

This manner of exercise, being then used, not at the Tilt (as I thinke) but at Randon, and in the open fielde, was accompted so daungerous to the persons having to do therein, that sundry Popes had forbidden it by decree, and the Kings of this Realme (before King Stephan) would not suffer it to be frequented within their land: so that, such as for exercise of that feate in armes, were desirous to prove themselves, were driven to passe over the Seas, and to performe it in some indifferent place in a forreigne Countrie. But afterwarde, King Stephan in his time permitted it: and then after him King Richard the first not onely allowed it, but also encouraged his Nobilitie to use it: And

so by litle and litle, the danger being sufficiently provided for, and the men waxing expert, it grewe in the time of the Kings that followed (especially in the reigne of this Edward the third) to a most pleasant, usuall, and familiar pastime.

But, to returne to Dartforde againe: The first motive of that rebellious assembly of the Common people of this Shyre, which chaunced in the time of King Richard the second (whereof you heard somewhat in Blackheath before) was given at this Towne, by this occasion.

1381. The occasion of Iohn Tylers rebellion.

The Parlement, holden at Northampton in the thirde yeere of King Richardes reigne, had assessed a great subsidie for the maintenance of his warres beyond the Seas: namely, halfe a marke upon the head of every religious and ecclesiasticall person, both man and woman: and one shilling (though Polydore being deceived himselfe, and deceiving such as follow him, say that it was but a groate) upon the head or polle of every lay man and woman, married or unmarried. The collection of which Taxe, was at the first committed to such, as had pitie of their poore neighbours, and spared them: So that when the money was come into the Treasorie, certaine Cormorantes of the Court found fault with the smalnesse of the summe, and therefore, offering unto the King a great piece of money for that which (as they said) was uncollected, they praied Commission from him to aske and levie it. The young Prince, that had not yet read in the olde Poet, that he was the Shepheard of his people, and that it was his part, to fleece, but not to flea his flocke, assented to their desire: And they foorthwith came downe into the Countrie, made their petie collectors in every quarter,

and with great extremities raked much money from the miserable people. Amongst the rest, one naughtie fellowe dishonestlye intreated a young Damosell, Daughter to one Wat Tyler, that dwelt in Dartford: which thing when the Father heard, he fell at woords with the Officer, and from wordes to worse, so that in the end he slew him.

This done, the Common people of the Towne, partly for grudge at the imposition, and some other things, which shall follow anone, partly for maintenance of that, which they thought well done: and partly to eschew the punishment that by execution of Iustice might fall upon them, assembled their neighbours, and growing to some number, made this Tyler their Capitaine, named him Iacke Strawe: and did and had further, as you in part have heard before, and may at large reade almost in everie English Chronicle. The narration whereof, I doe the rather passe over, bicause I am heere to note another matter, no lesse pertinent to mine own purpose, and more beneficial for the advertisement of such as it shall like to reade that historie. Polydore Virgile, in the report of this matter, cannot abide that there should be alleaged any other cause of this commotion than that Taxe of money whereof I have before spoken, and saith plainly, that they doe but serve the Princes eares that seeke any further. But as I have beene hitherto contented to ioyne with him in laying it foorth as the present occasion of the sturre: So he must now give me leave to leave him, since hee will have it also the onely cause and fountaine of all that hurling, as they termed it.

For it is plainly true, not onely by Thomas Walsingham, which lived in that very age, but also by

the recordes of the Parlements of the time it selfe, that the bondmen, land tenants, and other the common and inconstant people, did run to weapon on heapes, purposing no lesse to deliver themselves from the servitude of body and lande which they endured before, than to be acquited of that Taxe that was by Parlement then newly laid upon them.

The beginning and ende of all which thing is to be seene in the actes of the first and fifte yeeres of King Richard the seconde: of which two statutes, the first being made two yeeres before the generall insurrection was ripe, taketh order for the punishment of such as did then riotously assemble in many parts of the realm, threatening as it were a rebellion at hand, and had sought by force, some to be enfranchised, and some to get releases from their Lords of their rents, customes, and woonted services: the latter Lawe maketh voide all such manumissions, bonds, and releases, as they had by might and manacing wrested from their Lordes during the time of this very rebellion it selfe. The midst also (which conteineth the whole historie of their proceeding in that uproare) is largely set foorth by Thomas Walsingham, who not onely sheweth, that the demaunds of those seditious persons concerned chiefly villenage, and custumarie services, but reciteth also (woord for woord) the Recordes of the Proclamations, rescriptes, and pardons of the Prince in that behalfe: which things being laide together, do make mine assertion so full and manifest, that no man shall neede to doubt thereof, if hee will vouchsafe but once to reade them. Cap. 6. Cap. 6.

I gather therefore, that even as a Pistole that is ready charged and bent, will flie off by and by, if a

man do but touch the Seare; And as the evill humor in a naturall bodie (being ejected into the outward partes, and gathered to a boyle, or head) will easily breake, if it be never so little prickte or launced: So the commons of some partes of the realme, being at that time full swolne with rancor, that they had before conceived against their lords, lay now in await for some opportunitie to cast out their venome: and therefore, taking occasion at the Taxe of money which touched them al, they flocked together by and by, and laboured under that covert to pull their necks cleane out of the Collers.

I might heere also use the auctoritie of this last named Author, to controll Polydore withall in one or two other points of this selfe historie: But bicause my purpose is, not to refourme his writing, but to enfourme mine owne reader, I will spare to speake any further thereof at this time.

This place (as Crayford before) hath the name of the Water running thorow it, commonly called Derent, but more cunningly (as Leland saith) Dorquent, which in the Bryttish noteth the Cleare water. It riseth from two fountaines, the one appeering neare the edge of our Shyre at Squyrreys in Westram (the Towne where Iohn Fryth, that learned Confessour, and most constant Martyr, was borne) the other at Tittesey in Surrey: so watereth it Otforde, Aynesforde, and Darnt (whereto it giveth the name) thence falleth to this towne, and in company of Cray water, offereth some helpe to the River of Thamyse.

Upon this Derent also, have beene lately erected two Milles of rare devise (or rather singular, within our Realme) the one emploied for the making of all

sortes of Paper: the other exercised for the drawing of Iron into Wyres, and bigger lengthes and fashions, as well for the readier making of Nailes of all kindes, as for the easier dispatch of Barres for windowes, and other Services.

The BRENT, *or* Dartfordes Brent.

THE sight of this grounde, not onely reduceth to my remembrance that deadly and dolefull division of the houses of Yorke, and Lancaster (or rather of this whole Realme in their behalfe and quarrell:) But also induceth me, by a manner of necessitie, to make rehearsall of that long and wofull historie it selfe, least otherwise I be not understood of my reader, whilest I shall labour to set downe such partes thereof as belong to the place now presently come to my hande. Take it therefore thus, wholy, and withall so truely and shortly as I can.

The dissention betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster.

King Edward the third had issue (amongst others) these five sonnes: First Edward, the noble Prince of Wales, commonly tearmed the Blacke Prince: Then William of Hatfield, which died in his childhood: Thirdly Lionel, the Duke of Clarence: after him, Iohn the Duke of Lancaster, surnamed of Gaunt: and fiftly Edmund, that was borne at Langley, and was first made Earle of Cambridge, and afterward created Duke of Yorke. Prince Edward, the eldest, died in the life of his father, and left behinde him Richard, his sonne, which at eleven yeeres of his age succeeded his graundfather in the kingdome, and was called the seconde of his name.

The reigne, and troubles of King Richard the Second.

This mans government was after a time greatly misliked, bothe of his owne neare kinsmen, and of sundry others of the Nobilitie, in so much that (either for his fault, or of their own ambition, or both) they not onely discommended it boldly to his face, but also forceably compelled him to sommon a Parlement in the eleventh yeer of his reigne, and against his owne liking to punish, some by exile, and others by death, whom they charged to have misledde him.

But so farre off was it, that any good came thereby, either to the King, to themselves, or to the estate, that he continually from thenceforth sought after revenge; they (for the most part) smarted for it, and all things in the Common-wealth declined from evill to worse.

And first, he caused the head of his owne uncle Thomas of Woodstock (the sixt sonne of King Edward) whom the common people in honour of his vertue used to call the Good Duke of Gloucester, to be striken off, bicause he had beene a principall actor in that Parlement. Afterward he beheaded the Earle of Arundale, banished the Archbishop of Canterbury, togither with the Earle of Warwicke, and adiudged some others to perpetuall imprisonment. Furthermore, he confined his nephew Henric of Bolinbrooke (the Duke of Hereford, and eldest sonne to Iohn of Lancaster) upon a very light and slender accusation, and after the death of Duke Iohn his father, he withheld his proper inheritance (the Duchie of Lancaster) from him.

King Richard the Second loseth the harts of his subiects.

By which his fierce dealing, the harts of his nobilitie were quite estraunged: yea the common people also began to be offended, partly for griefe of Duke Thomas his death, partly for pitie of Henries exile and iniurie,

and partly for the Kings indirect proceeding in the Parlements at London and Shrewsbury, where he bothe repealed his former pardons given to his subiectes, and falsified some Rolles of the Parlement it selfe, but principally bicause he charged at once 17 severall shires of his Realme with high treason, for assisting the Duke of Gloucester in that Parlement whereof I spake, and had not onely constreined everie man in them to sweare unto him the othe of Fidelitie of new, but enforced each man also to confesse himselfe a traitor under his owne hande writing, and withall to subscribe a Blanke bill of debt, whereby he might be afterwarde charged with whatsoever summe it should please the King himselfe to insert and lay upon him.

Hereupon, Henrie of Bolinbrooke, perceaving that all men could like of a chaunge, and being secretly assured of his owne welcome, awaited the opportunitie, and whilest the King was busie in Ireland, he returned into this Realme, invaded the crowne, and within forty daies after, and without any bloudshead, or blowe given, obteined it.

Henry the 4. invaded the Crowne.

And so Richarde, whilest he sought uniustly to gaine another mans Duchie, was by the iust vengeance of God deprived of his owne Roialtie and kingdome. The remnant of his daies he spent in prison, where after a while he was violently made away, and left none issue behinde him.

King Richard the second is murdered in prison.

Thus tooke Henrie the Regalitie upon him, and so did his sonne, and his sonnes sonne, two other Henries, called the fift and the sixt, after him, which three Princes for as much as they were lineally descended from Iohn of Gaunt (the Duke of Lancaster) were

called of the house of Lancaster, and gave to their friendes and followers, a red Rose for their badge or conusance.

The white Rose, and the Redde, with their pedegrees, and titles.

Against these, the bearers of the White Rose, that is, they of the familie of Yorke, became Competitors of the crowne, and strived for chiefe place in the garland: whether rightfully, or no, let that be tried by this Pedegree following.

Lionell the Duke of Clarence, and thirde sonne to King Edward the third (for of his first, second, and fourth sonnes, I have tolde you already) had issue Philip (his daughter, and heire) which was married to Edmunde Mortimer (Earle of the Marches of Wales) who also, for the better establishment of the succession, was therefore in the life of King Richard the second, openly declared heire apparant to the crowne, if it should happen that King to die without issue of his bodie. Edmund and Philip had issue, one Roger Mortimer: and he left issues, Edmund, Roger, Anne, and Eleonore: of which foure, three died without any issue, but Anne was given in marriage to Richard the Earle of Cambridge (a younger sonne to Edmunde of Langley) the fifte sonne (as I first told you) of King Edward the third, and which was the first Duke of Yorke, of which honour, all the race following, were surnamed of the house of Yorke also.

This Earle of Cambridge, had issue by Anne, Richard Plantagenet the Duke of Yorke, who also (besides eleven other children) begate Edwarde, that was afterwarde King, and named the fourth of that calling.

Hereby you see, that after the death of King Richard the second, none of the house of Lancaster could succeede him as next heire, so long as any of Duke

Lionels race did remaine: unlesse you will say, that the fourth brother ought to inherite before the third, and consequently the younger sonne before the elder. Which absurditie, when King Henrie the fourth (having catched the crowne) did well ynough see, and knew withall that thousands (even then alive) could have witnessed the trueth of all this matter against him, he thought it best to mount higher, and by fetching his title above the memorie of any man, to make it, if not plausible, yet at the least more coulorable and likely.

And therefore, when as at the time of his coronation, it was of set purpose openly pronounced, that King Richarde had resigned the crowne, and that thereby the kingdome was vacant: he arose out of his throne, and in plaine speech challenged it to himselfe, as descended of the bloud royall from King Henry. Now, what he ment thereby, I will but touch the matter, and tell you.

King Henrie the third (for him he ment) had two sonnes, Edward, and Edmunde: of which two, Edward (as all histories of the time doe without controversie agree) being the elder by three and twenty yeeres and above, was first Prince of Wales, and then the first king of his name, and (for his tall personage) by-named Longshanke.

The title and claime of the house of Lancaster, was but feigned.

Edmund, the younger was Duke of Lancaster, and (for the bowing of his shoulders) surnamed Crouchbacke. This oddes of their ages notwithstanding, it was long after feigned (in favour of the house of Lancaster) that Edmund was the first borne of the twaine, and that he was reiected for his deformitie, and Edward preferred (as the more woorthy) to the inheritance of the Crowne. And therefore, as King Henrie the fourth

had derived his Duchie from his mother Blaunch, the daughter and heire of Henrie Duke of Lancaster, and descended of that Edmund: Even so woulde he have deduced the kingdome by the same line of descent, and thereby disproove at once (as meere usurpations) all the former regiments of Edward the first, Edward the second, Edward third, and Richarde the seconde, which kings (with allowance of all men) had rightfully reigned more than 126. yeeres before him.

And truly, as he was now ready thorowe great ambition, to have mainteined this new broched title with his swoorde: So wanted there not afterwarde some, that through servile flatterie laboured in woord and writing to recommend it as true and auncient. Of which number (a learned Iudge and Chauncellour to the Prince that was sonne to King Henrie the sixt) was one; who wrate a whole Treatise (which I once sawe) in confirmation of that his Maisters right and Title.

But let King Henrie the fourth and his posteritie stand here invested with the roiall Diademe, and let us a while beholde with what quiet he and they kept it, and for how long season the third heire enioied the same.

Troubles moved in the time of King Henry the 4. by the house of Yorke, for recoverie of the crowne. 1399.

Not long after the deposition of King Richard, and during the time of his imprisonment, his brother the Duke of Excester, associated with the Duke of Aumarle, the Earles of Kent, Salisbury, and Gloucester, and with others moe, coniured to oppresse the person of King Henrie in a mummerie at Windsore: But as their intention was discovered, and themselves executed therefore, so also King Richard was foorthwith made out of the way, least his life should afterward give occasion of the like attempt to any other.

Soone after, Sir Roger Claringdon, the Prior of Laund, and certeine Friers went about to stirre up the subiects, by persuading the world that King Richard was yet living: at which time Owen Glendore was for his part very busie in Wales also. 1400.

In the next yeere after that, Sir Thomas Percy (the Earle of Worcester) gave the king a Battaile, at Shrewsbury. And in the sixt yeere of his reigne, Richard Scrope the Archbishop of Yorke, Thomas Mombray (the Earle Marshall) and one Plumton put themselves in armes against him. 1401. 1405.

Not past two yeeres after which time also, Henry Percie (the Earle of Northumberland, which had maried Elizabeth, a daughter to Edmund Mortimer) adioined himselfe to the Lord Bardolfe and certeine Scots, and taking weapon in hand renewed the warre upon him. 1408.

So that King Henry the fourth, albeit hee kept the Saddle in all this leaping and flinging, yet (as you see) he was exceedingly tossed with domesticall warre almost three parts of his whole reigne.

At the last, having gotten a few Halcion daies, or rather cares, he departed this life, sory (as some say) for that which he had done.

Henry the fift (a martiall man also) succeeded his father in the kingdome, whose life was likewise in great daunger the seconde yeere of his reigne. For Richard (the Earle of Cambridge, and husband to Anne the right heire of the crowne) perceaving that the former assaies of his friends had taken no successe, tooke the matter into his owne hands, and allying himself with Henry Scrope the Lord Treasorer, and Sir Thomas Graye, purposed to have slaine the King 1414.

King Henrie the fifts reign and conquests.

Another attempt by the house of Yorke.

at Hampton even when he was ready to embarke towards Normandie. But when his device was deciphered, and himselfe assured to suffer therefore, he chose rather to say, that he did it as corrupted with the money and crownes of Fraunce, than to be acknowen that he had directed his shot at the crowne of England, least if that had beene espied, he might togither with the losse of his owne life, have deprived his posteritie of all hope to recover their desired right.

King Henry, when he had bereaved them of life that sought his death, passed over into Fraunce, and there spent the time in such prosperous warre and conquest, that hee was made Regent of that realme in the life of King Charles, and declared King after his death. But by reason that Charles of Fraunce overlived him, that honour descended to his sonne King Henry the sixt, who was crowned in Paris, within eleven yeeres after.

King Henry the sixt and his government.

Now, during a great part of the reigne of this latter King Henry also, the Nobilitie, both of this faction, and of our whole nation, was so exercised with the French warres abroade, that they had no leasure to attend their private quarrels at home: So that for the first thirty yeeres almost of this King Henries government, nothing was attempted against him in the behalfe of the house of Yorke: unlesse that be true of Eleonor Cobham, and Roger Bolinbrooke (otherwise called Onley) who are charged by some with a conspiracie to bewitche him, whereof others make doubt and question.

The causes of his woe.

But afterwarde, when this King began to lose that, which his father had gained in Fraunce, and when he

had not only married the King of Sciciles daughter against his owne pre-contract made with the Earle of Armenac, and against the advice of his chiefe Nobilitie: But had also suffred his deere uncle Humfrey (that renowned Duke of Gloucester) to be treacherously murdered and made away, and himselfe to be altogether ruled by Queene Margaret his wife, and William the Duke of Suffolke, the very artificers of Duke Humfreyes destruction, Then Richard Plantagenet (the Duke of Yorke) at whome also Queene Margaret and her complices had privily pricked, tooke occasion by the forhead, and (as a coale out of the ashes) began by litle and litle to peepe out and bewray himselfe. And although both many of the Nobilitie, and most of the common sort, were wearie of the present estate and governmente: yet hee, being made wise by his fathers fall, woulde neither plainly disclose his purpose, ne take the matter straightway upon himselfe, but sought rather to atchieve his desire by other mens cost, then at his owne perill.

Further assaies of the house of Yorke.

And therefore, as in a heard of Deere, the great Bucks, when there is noice abroad, will beate forward the Rascall: So he, first set Iac Cade of Ireland on woorke (as it is to be thought) causing him to call himselfe Mortimer (which name waxed then plausible againe, in hatred of King Henrie) and so to move the unsteady multitude, that murmured much, and gaped daily for a chaunge. But when he saw that assembly soone scattered, and yet not so much by any power of the Prince, or love of his people, as by the counsell and credite of the Duke of Somerset, a man of great valoure, and (as things then stoode) the onely stop in his way to the crowne whereunto he secretly aspired,

Iac Cades rebellion.

he determined before all other things, and with all his might and maine to lift at that blocke and impediment.

And therefore, backing himselfe with the Earle of Devonshire and the Lorde Cobham, and charging the Duke of Somerset as author of all the evils in the Common wealth, he gathered a great armie in the marches of Wales, and so making forward tooke the field at the Brent where we now be.

The Brent at Dartforde.

The King on the other side arraied a strong battaile also, and came to Blackheathe ready to have foughten with him: But through the mediation of certeine noble men, some Lords and Bishops were sent with commission, both to demaund for what cause he had put on armour, and also to enter into conditions of atonement with him. He required onely, that the Duke of Somerset might first bee committed to safe custodie, and then be compelled by order of lawe to answere to such crimes as hee had to obiect against him: which being done, hee promised to disarme himselfe, and to dismisse his companie. The King assented, and for a colour, caused the Duke of Somerset to withdraw himselfe out of sight: But when the Duke of Yorke came to the Kings campe, he found the Duke of Somerset, not onely set at full libertie, contrarie to the Kings and his Commissioners promise; But armed also with such auctoritie, that he arrested him of Yorke, and made him to be ledde as a prisoner in triumph before the King, against his owne expectation.

Blackheath.

Neverthelesse, when they had considered that they had but a wolfe by the eares, whom they could neither well hold, nor might safely let goe, they yet resolved at the last to restore him to libertie, somewhat bicause he came in upon safe conduit of the Kings woord, but

nore bicause it was then noised that his sonne Edvarde, the Earle of Marche, was marching towardes hem, with a great power to rescue him.

By this meane, on the one side the Duke of Somerset waxed every day more deere and secrete to the King, and was foorthwith honoured with the Capitainhip of Calaice: and on the other side, the displeasure nd furie of the Duke of Yorke was a great deale the nore incensed: So that thirsting after revenge, he vith the aide of his friendes encountered the King and ne Duke of Somerset in a fight at Saint Albons, vhere also he slew the one, and tooke the other. The Duke he left to bee buried there, the King he brought vith al outward shew of reverence to London with im, and there by a forced Parliament such as had the hiefe roomes before were remooved, himselfe was eclared Protector of the Realme, Richarde Nevile ne Earle of Salisbury made Chauncelor and President f the Counsell, and his sonne Richarde Nevile the Earle of Warwike, appointed Capitaine of Calaice nd leader of the warre.

1456. King Henry the sixt, is taken in the field at S. Albons.

The Duke of Yorke, is made Protector.

Thus have I shewed you (by occasion of the place vhere we be) the cause of this great strife and paralitie, and brought you by the hande (as it were) othe to the first steppe of that privie staire which ney of the house of Yorke made for recoverie of their ght, and to the first act of open hostilitie in that uarrell. And now bothe mine owne former order, nd the haste that I have to make an ende, doe require nat I should leave the matter here: But yet, partly or my promise sake, partly bicause I am lothe to manle and maime the historie, which if it stand whole is o much the more worthie of the reading, and partly

also for that it hath in the sequele some things that belong to this Shyre, I will breake square for this once, and tell you out both the course and conclusion of all this tragicall historie.

Queene Margaret, (which had before time ruled all, and could not now beare to be directed by any) seeing well ynough that the Duke of Yorke had alreadie gotten the swoorde, and that the king her husband had but onely the crowne left him, whereat also the Duke secretly aimed, she never ceased to sollicite the king, till this new Protector and Chancelor were discharged of their offices: and not so contented, she practised with her husband to sende for them and the Earle of Warwicke to Coventrie, where (having before laide the trappe) she had almost taken them.

This device of hers, as it had made an ende of the controversie if it had taken place: So, being discoverd, it greatly amended the quarrell of her adversaries, and gave them good colour to fall to armes againe for their iust defence.

1458. The matter therefore being now like to growe to open war and enmitie, it was eftsoones thought meete, that the king should pretend a vehement desire of reconciliation: and for that purpose, they met shortly after at London on al hands, and from the teeth forwarde departed good friends againe: but in deede envious rancour so boiled in the brest, that it not onely belched, but also brake foorth immediately. And that was the cause, that soone after the Kings owne housholde assaulted the Earle of Warwicke at Westminster, and the Lorde Audeley set upon his father the Earle of Salisbury at Bloreheath, each so fiercely, that the Earles with much adoe escaped their hands.

A feigned reconciliation betweene these two houses.

From thencefoorth therefore the hatred waxed leadly, and the strife seemed to be now, not who hould leade and reigne, but rather who shoulde live nd remaine: in so much as foorthwith there was on oth parts open conference of warre, the men were nustered, and the armies ranged, being ready over ight to have ioyned in the morning, when (loe) the Duke and his complices, partly upon sight that they vere the weaker, and partly for the defection of some vhich had bewraied their counseiles, suddenly for-ooke the fielde, and fledde, some into Ireland, and the esidue unto Calaice.

Howbeit neither lande nor Seas could so divide hem, but that they met both in minde and person, to ommunicate of their affaires. In which meane while lso, they wan the towne of Sandwich twice, by the and of Denham their Capitaine, who at both times ooke away all the vessels that he found in the haven, nd first ledde away as prisoners the Lorde Ryvers nd the Lorde Scalys his sonne, and then afterwarde eheaded Mountfort that succeeded them.

Sandwiche twice surprised by force.

But after some entercourses, and when they had greed upon a plat of their businesse, then the Earles f Marche, Salisbury, and Warwicke came over from Calaice, furnished with some strength which they rought, but assisted with more that fell unto them ere, the rather bicause it was by policie sounded broad, that these noble men intended nothing against he king, but onely against certeine evill counsellors hat were about him.

The king, on the other side, slept not when hee eard of their arrivall, but with all possible power nade ready against them. At the length, both the

King Henrie the sixt, is secondly taken prisoner at Northampton.

armies met at Northampton, and there was the kings power discomfited, sundry noble men of his part slaine, and he himselfe secondly brought into captivitie.

Thence is he once more caried to London, and his name used to sommon a Parlement, whereunto also commeth the Duke of Yorke in al haste out of Ireland, maketh his claime to the crowne, sheweth his right, and prevaileth so far that he is by assent presently made Protector and Regent of the realm, and declared heire to the crowne after the death of the king; with *Proviso semper,* that if King Henry should go about to empeach this ordinance, that then the Duke shoulde reioice the kingdome in possession immediately.

The Duke of Yorke is declared heire to the crown.

And thus hath this Duke at once both opened and in manner obteined his desire. For now hath he climbed the seconde steppe of this staire to the crowne, and there wanteth nothing to atchieve the toppe, but onely to bring the Queene into handes, who also (by refusing to obey the agreement) hath ministred him iust cause to demaund it. But, even as many things happen (according to the proverbe) betweene the Cup and the Lippe: So this man having brought the crowne more than halfe way to his head, leaveth the king with the Earle of Warwicke, and speedeth himselfe with all preparation to pursue the Queene: by whose friendes and their power, he was met withall at Wakefield, and there slaine dead in the fight. In the necke (or rather in the nicke) of which also the Queene setteth fiercely upon the Duke of Norfolke and the Earle of Warwicke at Saint Albons, and so plyeth them, that they were glad to save themselves by flight, and to leave the king their prisoner behinde them. There was he eftsoones restored to libertie, and his

1459. The Duke of Yorke is slain in a battell at Wakefield.

Another fight at S. Albons.

keeper Sir Thomas Cyriel (or Criel) a man of great prowesse, and parentage in this shyre, cut shorter by the head. Sir Thomas Kyriel beheaded.

Now would a man have thought, that the house of Yorke had hitherto but beaten water in a morter, and lost al their former labour. And truly the Duchesse her selfe, seeing her husbande slaine, and his best helpes discomfited, began to thinke the case desperate, and therefore dispatched George and Richard, her younger sonnes, out of the realme. But Edward the eldest, the Earle of March, whome God (reiecting his father) had reserved for the crowne, not a whit dismaied at all this matter, had in the meane while made way with his weapon by discomfiture of the Earles of Penbroke and Wilshyre at Mortimers crosse, and so ioyning with the Earle of Warwicke at Cotswolde, marcheth foorthright to London, claimeth the crowne by his owne right and King Henries forfaiture, receaveth the homage of all the Nobilitie, is embraced of the Commons, and proclaimed the fourth King of his name. Edward the fourth, obteineth the crowne to the house of Yorke.

From thence he passeth in roiall array towards Yorke, where King Henry and his wife then lay, and at Towton (not farre from the Citie) woonne the fight and field, where were slaine 36,000. in one battaile. So that he and his entred Yorke in triumph, but Henry, his wife, and some of their friendes fled thence in great feare unto Scotlande, and she with her sonne afterward into Fraunce. A great battell and slaughter at Towton.

This feate thus luckily atchieved, King Edward committed the charge of the North partes to the Earle of Warwicke, and retired himselfe to London, where about Midsomer after, he was with great pompe annointed king, and so re-continued the right of the 1461.

house of Yorke, which by the space of 61. yeeres before had beene withholden from it.

But now, as he sawe that he had not woonne the garland without great labour and bloudshead, his enimies being at home: So neither did he thinke that he could weare it without continuall care and vigilancie whilest they lived abroad. And therefore, (foreseeing in minde, what followed in deede) hee caused all the marches toward Scotland to be kept against Henry, and the Sea coast towards France to be watched against his wife: So that when shee (within a yeere after) thought to have arrived heer, she was beaten to the Sea againe, and by the Sea and weather driven into Scotlande where her husband was.

Hee also, being by that time growne to some strength, partly by her companie, and partly by others aide, invaded King Edward upon the north, and pearced as far as to Hexam: But there was the Lord Montacute ready for him, who gave him such a welcome, that his whole band was defeated, his chiefe friendes were taken, himselfe being driven to great shift, and his wife enforced to returne to her father into Fraunce againe.

1465. Henrie the sixt is the third time taken at Hexam.

Not long after, when Henrie (being out of all hope to recover his place by forreigne aide) dissembled his person to the ende that he might sollicite some new helpes within the Realme, he was thirdly taken with the manner, brought up to the King, and laide fast in the Tower at London.

These things thus prosperously succeeding, King Edwarde sought (for three or fower yeeres togither) not onely by iustice and liberalitie, to fortifie himselfe amongst his owne subiects, but also by encountre of forreine alliance to weaken Queene Margaret, whose

hope of helpe (if any were left) was altogither reposed in his neighbours. And for this purpose, it was thought good to sende the Earle of Warwick into Fraunce, with commission to moove and make up a marriage for the king, with the Ladie Bona sister to the kings wife there. But this became such a bone of dissention between these deere friends King Edward and the Earle, that they were from thencefoorth so divorced by it, as they could never after be united againe.

King Edward and the Earl of Warwicke fall out.

For whilest the Earle had in that treatise so handeled the matter with the King of Fraunce and the young Ladie, that his Maisters suite was thereby obtained, he (no lesse suddenly, than secretly) bestowed himselfe upon the Lady Graye, a widowe, whose husband was slaine in the fight at Saint Albons. This, whether it happened of a certeine levitie and wanton love (as in deede he is noted of that fault) or whether he (following that Oracle and counsell in husbandrie, *In olea, ramus cæteris latior recidendus, ne tota arbor contristetur*) did it of set purpose and policie to discountenance the Earle, whose popularitie and greatnesse he had to feare, I knowe not, but assuredly I finde that the Earle conceaved such implacable hatred against the King therefore, that (howsoever he dissembled it for a time) he sought by all waies to remove him, and to restore Henry to the crowne.

First therefore, he communicateth this griefe with his two brethren, George the Archbishop of Yorke, and Iohn the Marquesse Montacute, and by great persuasion assureth them unto him: Then, by cunning meanes and marriage of his daughter, he allureth unto

The Earle of Warwick seeketh revenge.

his part George the Duke of Clarence, and withdraweth him from the King his own brother. The match thus made, a quarrel is piked, the Northern people are incited to take up weapon, and warre is made upon the King with great successe.

For, first the Northern men, of their own power compell the Earle of Penbroke to turne the backe neare to Northampton: And afterward by the aide of the Duke and the Earle discomfite his men secondly, and take himselfe in the fielde at Banbury. Then commeth King Edwarde in person, and encampeth himselfe at Woolney: where, whiles the time was spent in a treatie of pacification, with the Duke and the Earle, which were then at Warwick, his adversaries come suddenly upon him by night in a Camisado, and killing his watch, take himselfe unwares in his tent also.

Fight at Northampton.

Fight at Banbury.

King Edward is taken, and escapeth.

But albeit that it pleased God thus to chastise him for a season, yet ment he not to cast him away, neither to suffer the ioy of his enimies to have long continuance. For soone after (being conveied into Yorkshyre by night iourneies, and there kept in a liberall prison) what by the negligence or corruption of his keepers, and what by the happie assistance of his friends, he escaped their hands, repaired new forces, and finding that no parle would bring him peace) first so chased Sir Robert Welles and his Lincolnshyre men at Edgecoate, that the battail (in memorie that they threw away their coates, to the end that they might runne away the lighter) was called by allusion Losecoatefield: and afterwarde so daunted both his brother and the Earle, that they finding themselves unable to hold out any longer heere, fled over into Fraunce with their friends and familie.

1470. Losecotefield in Lincolnshire.

There founde they Queene Margaret, Henries wife, and Prince Edward his sonne, between whom and the Earle of Warwicks daughter, a new knot of alliance (by mediation of the Frenche King, a very Bellowse of this fire) was forthwith knit up and tyed, and withall another plot of reviving the war against King Edward was agreed upon.

This done and concluded, Lewes the King of Fraunce, and Renard Queene Margarets father, spare neither cost nor labour to furnish out the Duke of Clarence, and the Earles of Warwicke, Oxforde, and Penbrooke (who also was now of the same devotion) with men and mony, weapon and vessel: And they (not tarying till the Queene and her sonne coulde make ready for the iourney) came over to give the first attempt, and left them as a supplie to follow.

And here, it was a world to behold the manner of the common and moveable multitude. For these Noble men were no sooner landed at Dartmouth in the West countrie, and had stricken the drumme in the name of King Henry, but there was flocking on heapes to them from all the partes of the realme, and crying, a Warwicke, a Warwicke, King Henry, King Henry: So that King Edward, astonished at the straungenesse of the matter, thought not so much of any meane how to resist his enimies, as how to save himselfe. And therefore, in all haste, and not without great hazard, he conveieth himself, his brother Richard, and a few others, by land unto Lynne, and from thence by sea into Flaunders, there to use the advice and aide of his brother in lawe Charles the Duke of Burgundie. Queen Elizabeth his wife also, being then great with childe, and destitute of better shift, shrowdeth herselfe at Westminster, in the Abbots Sanctuarie. 1471.

For the inconstancie of the commons, King Edward flieth over the Sea.

This while commeth Warwicke (our English Martell that would make and marre Kings at his pleasure) with his complices forward to London, and without any manner of resistance goeth straight to the Tower, and unprisoneth King Henry, whome he had emprisoned before. He also most ioyfully resumeth his former Roialtie, calleth a Parlement, denounceth King Edwarde a traitor, maketh newe Lords, new Lawes, turneth al things upside downe, and draweth (as it were) a new world after him.

King Henry is restored by the Earle of Warwick.

King Edwarde, on the other side, having now recovered breath after his running away, and seeing right well, that delay of time would breede daunger to himselfe, and begette assurance to his enimies, taketh such helpe as the Duke (his brother in lawe) could presently make him, and speedeth him over to Ravensport in Yorkshire, trusting that upon the knowledge of his arrivall, infinite numbers of men would have fallen unto him. But when he found by proofe, that fewe or none there durst shew him countenance, for feare of the contrarie faction, he was driven to chaunge his note, and wheras he came over at the first to recover his kingdome, he was then glad to say that he sought nothing but the Dukedome of Yorke, his proper inheritance.

By which policy partly, and partly by periurie (a fowler shift) he first gained the citie of Yorke, and drewe unto him a great companie. Then proceedeth he further, and reconcileth his brother the Duke of Clarence, and so handeleth the matter with the Marquesse Montacute also (who was laid to encounter him in the way) that he suffered him to passe by untouched.

King Edward useth foule shifts

Thus commeth Edwarde to London unlooked for,

and thereby so amaseth the Nobilitie, that each man making the best shift for himselfe) poore King Henry was left post alone, and now fourthly and finally taken, and cast into miserable prison.

Henry the 6. is fourthly taken at London.

This while the Earle of Warwicke, all wroth and grieved that King Edward was not stopped in the way, hasteth after with the Marquesse his brother to the towne of Barnet, where (to the increase of his sorrow) it was tolde him, that unfortunate King Henry was once more fallen into the handes of his enimie, and therefore he thought good to stay upon Gladmore heath there, of purpose to deliberate of some further enterprise.

But King Edward, thinking it best to make hay, whilest the sunne shyned, maketh forward in great speede, and embatteleth himselfe hard by against him. To make short, their armies meete and fight, the Earle and the Marquesse are both slaine dead in the field, some noble men of their part save themselves by flight, but their main battaile is overthrowen, and defeated.

The Earle of Warwicke is slaine at Barnet.

This was no sooner done, but (behold) Queene Margaret with her sonne (which had sundry times before attempted the Seas, and were alwaies repulsed with contrarie winde) arriveth in Dorsetshire, thinking to have ioined with the Earle and the rest of her friends. But when the siely woman understood of all that was happened, she tare and tormented her selfe, being ready to die for extreme sorrow and anguish. Howbeit when that passion was put over, she bethought her better, and withdrew to the Sanctuarie at Beaulieu for safegarde of her life.

King Henries wife taketh Sanctuarie

There was she somewhat recomforted by the Duke

of Somerset, and such others as were escaped from Gladmore: And there also (after conference of counseiles) she resolved (like to one that had sped ill at Primero) to set up her last rest, in hope to recover her losses againe.

But the matter fell out farre otherwise: for King Edward, who had been taught to use his victorie, setteth up all his sailes, like a man that had the winde on his sterne, and useth such celeritie against her, that before the powers which she and her friendes the Earles of Penbrooke and Devonshire had provided could ioine together, he assailed her, the young Prince, and the Duke of Somerset (the Generall of that armie) at Tewxbury, and taking them all three prisoners, sleaeth the Earle of Devonshyre, and overturneth the rest of their companie

The fight at Tewxbury.

And now King Edward, having thus recovered his kingdome by Gods clemencie, seeketh to confirme it (after the manner of unkinde men) by his owne witte and ungodly policie: whereof what scourge ensued you shall perceive anone.

First therefore the young Prince that was taken prisoner, is suffered to be cruelly slaine in his owne presence: And then King Henry (within sixe monethes after his readeption) is wofully made away in the Tower at London. But as for the Queene, she had no wrong at all, for she bought her life with a summe of money: The Earle of Penbrooke likewise with his nephew Henry (called afterward the seventh King of that name) sailed safely over the Seas to Fraunces the Duke of Britaine.

Henrie the sixt is slaine.

I had almost forgotten to tell you here, of that adoe which Thomas Fawconbridge (the Earle of Kents

bastarde, and Viceadmirall to the Earle of Warwicke) made at London with a handfull of rakehelles which he had scummed together in this our shire, whilest the King was in his return from Tewxbury: and how valiantly for their owne praise, and faithfully for the Kings service, the Londoners fought and repulsed him. But the matter is not great: for as his comming was too late for his friendes succour, so it was soone ynough for his owne destruction, his enterprise being resisted at the first, and himselfe shortly after apprehended at Southampton, and rewarded with a hatchet for his labour.

The Bastard Fawconbridge, assaileth London.

This end then, had all the civile warre that was moved for the title of the crowne: but yet the contention was not wholy quenched, ne could it pardy whilest any of the house of Lancaster was left to remaine. And therefore as you have patiently heard of the Division, So heare me I pray you a woord or twaine of the Union of these titles also.

The end of the civile warre.

Ten, or eleven yeeres after all these victorious conflictes, King Edwarde was called away in the flowre of his age, and not without suspicion of poisoning. He left two sonnes behind him, Edward and Richard: of which, the elder was King, but yet never crowned: For his uncle, Richard of Gloucester, who had before imbrued his hands with the bloud of King Henry the sixt, and of the young Prince his sonne, sticketh not to bathe them nowe in the bowels of these his owne nephews: and so, through shamelesse fraude, corruption, and other crueltics, usurpeth the crowne to himselfe. The which, thus gotten by Parricide, he would have upholden by Incest, seeking to have married (or rather marred) Elizabeth the eldest daughter of his late brother King Edward.

1483.

King Edward the fift.

K. Richard the third.

But within sixe and twenty monethes, the Nobilitie and Commons waxed so wearie of his barbarous Tyrannie, that they sent over the Seas and invited Henry the Earle of Richmonde, a man that was descended by his mother from the house of Lancaster, and preserved by God to weare the crowne, notwithstanding all that ever King Edward the fourth had practised to destroy him.

King Henry the seventh uniteth the two houses. Bosworth field.

He then crosseth the Seas from Britaine, landeth in Wales, and is receaved with greedy hartes and good liking. From thence he marcheth into Leycestershire, and in a battaile at Bosworth there, encountereth with King Richard, and killeth him. Then is he honourably crowned in the field, and Richard shamefully (but yet woorthily) conveied to the ground.

This done, King Henry both straineth a point of policie in killing innocent Edwarde, sonne to the Duke of Clarence, and onely heire male that remained of the house of Yorke: and also taketh to his wife, Elizabeth the eldest daughter and very heire of that familie, and so (making his Garland of bothe the Roses) quieteth for ever that long and bloudie controversie.

Thus have I now at the length ledde you along the reignes of seven sundry Kings, and in a few leaves given you a totall of this tedious and tumultuous historie, which to have beene prosecuted at large woulde require a whole booke, or Iliade.

It remaineth, and is requisite, that as a historie is truly called the Maistresse of our life, so some fruit be gathered of it. But bicause I feare, that as I have wearied my selfe with writing, so I should tyre you also in reading, I will onely point at a few matters and so leave them.

At a woorde therefore, Kings and Princes are here (in the persons of these Princes) admonished of the instabilitie of earthly Kingdomes, and thereby provoked to sue after that heavenly kingdome, which is not subiect to mutabilitie or chaunge. And this they are taught to do, by using pietie towards him by whome they reigne, and equitie towardes them over whom they be set: *nam cætera regna,*

Luxuries vitiis, odiisque superbia vertit.

Noblemen and Counseilors are warned to advise well their Kings, and to avoide ambition in themselves: for as a noble and wise Counseillor late living was wont to say,

Callida consilia, prima fronte læta, tractatu difficilia, Eventu tristia.

Crafty counseiles have a faire shew in the first opening, but they be hard in the handeling, and wofull in the winding up.

And as for Ambition, the winde never bloweth out of that quarter, but stormes arise withall, and wrecke of noble houses doth ensue.

The Commons also (who many times, and namely here, deserve well their name, bicause they be common to every side) may by others harmes learne to leave their continuall wavering and inconstancie. For light heads (as they see here) finde heavie rappes: and they shal ever proove that true, which the Poet (or more truly in this behalfe, the Prophet) once sang,

Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi.

When Princes doate, in taking armes,
Their subiects smart, and beare the harmes.

At once both Kings, Counseilors, Commons, and all men are allured to respect God heedily, to dwel in

their own callings quietly, neither seeking other mens things wrongfully, nor labouring to defend their owne unlawfully.

SWANSCOMBE, *called in Saxon,* Sweynscomb, *that is the campe of Sweyn the Dane that encamped at* Grenehithe *harde by.*

AS the whole Shyre of Kent oweth to Swanscomb everlasting name, for the fruition of her auncient franchises obteined there: So I for the more houourable memorie of the place, can gladly affoord it roome, both at the beginning, and toward the end of my labour.

The matter for the which it is especially renowmed, is alreadie bewrayed in the discourse of the auncient estate of this Shyre, whereunto I will referre you: And at this time, make note of a thing, or twaine besides, and so passe over to the residue.

The Manor.

The Manor of Swanscombe, is holden of Rochester Castle, and oweth service toward the defence of the same, being (as it were) one of the principall Captaines to whome that charge was of auncient time committed, and having subiect unto it, sundrie Knights fees, as petie Captaines (or inferiour souldiours) bound to serve under her banner there.

The Church of S. Hildeferthe.

The Church at Swanscombe, was much haunted in times past, for Saint Hildeferthes helpe (a Bishop, by coniecture of his picture yet standing in the upper window of the South Ile, although his name is not read in all the Catalogue of the Saxons) to whome such as were distracted, ranne for restitution of their wits, as thicke as men were wont to saile to Anticyra, for Heleborus.

This cure was perfourmed heere, by warmth, close keeping, and good diet: meanes not onely not straunge or miraculous, but meere naturall, ordinarie, and reasonable. And therefore, as on the one side, they might truely be thought madde men, and altered in their wits, that frequented this pilgrimage for any opinion of extraordinary working: So on the other side, S. Hildeferth (of all the Saintes that I knowe) might best be spared, seeing we have the keeper of Bethleem, who ceaseth not (even till this day) to woorke mightily in the same kinde of Myracle.

GRAVESENDE, *in Saxon* Gepeperenð: *in Latine*, Limes Prætorius.

THE original cause of the name of this place, lieth hidd in the usuall name of the officer, lately created in the town: He is commonly called Portreve, but the woord (aunciently and truly sounded) is Portgereve, that is to say, the Ruler of the Towne. For Porte (descending of the Latine woord *Portus)* signifieth a Port Towne, and Gereve (being derived of the Saxon verbe ȝeþeccan, to rule) was first called ȝeþecþa, and then ȝeþeþa, and betokeneth a Ruler: So that, Portreve, is the Ruler of the Towne, and Greves-end, is as much to say, as the Limit, Bounde, or Precinct of such a Rule or Office.

The name of Portreve whereof it commeth.

Of the very same reason, they of the lowe and high Germanie (whence our language first descended) cal one ruler, Burgreve, another Margreve, and the third Landsgreve: And of the same cause also, our Magis-

The name of Sherife.

trate now called a Sherif, or (to speake more truly, Shyrereve) was at the first called (Shyre gereve) that is to say, *Custos Comitatus*, the Reve, or Ruler of the Shyre. The head officer of Maidston, long since had this name: yea the chiefe governour of the Citie of London likewise, before the time either of Maior or Baylife there, was knowne by the name of Portreve, as in the Saxon Chartre of King William the Conquerour (sundry examples whereof bee yet extant) may appeere. It began thus, ꝓilliam cyng ġreet ꝓilliam biſceop. ⁊ ġodfrey portġeneſan. ⁊ ealle þa burhſaſen þe on lunden beon; William the King, greeteth William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Portreve, and all the Burgesses that in London be, &c.

London had a Portreve.

To make short, in auncient time, almost every Manor had his Reve, whose authoritie was, not only to levie the Lords rents, to set to worke his servaunts, and to husband his Demeasnes to his best profit and commoditie: but also to govern his tenants in peace, and to leade them foorth to war, when necessitie so required.

The Office of a Reve.

And although this name, and so much of the authoritie as remained, was (after the comming in of the Normanes) transferred to another, which they called Baylife: yet in sundry places of the Realme (especially in Copiholde Manors, where olde custome prevaileth) the woord Reve, is yet wel inough knowne and understood.

Neither ought it to seeme any whit the more straunge, bicause I call now Reve, that which in old time was Gereve, for as much as this particle (Ge) was in processe of time, in some places chaunged in sound to (y) and in some other partes cleane lost and forgotten: As

for example, wheras the Saxons used to say, he was Geboren, they of the West countrie pronounce it, he was yborne, and we of the countries nearer London, he was borne.

Thus farre the Etymon of the name (Greves end) hath carried me out of the Historie, whereto I did the rather yeelde, bicause I had not muche to write concerning the place it selfe. Howbeit I reade, that in 1379. the beginning of the reigne of King Richard the second, whilest the Lorde Nevel was by the Kings appointment, entred into Fraunce, with a great company of English souldiors, the French men came up the Thamise with their Gallies, and brent divers townes, and at the last comming to Gravesende) spoiled and set it on fire also.

The Manor of Gravesend belonged then to the Abbot of Towerhill at London, of the guifte of King Edwarde the thirde, founder of that and of some other religious houses. And bicause this Towne was brought to beggerie by that misfortune, the Abbot taking such advantage for reliefe thereof as that time very happily afoorded, had conference with his tenants, and finding that by the continual recourse to and from Calyce (which the same King Edward had gained to his crowne) the passage by water betweene London and Gravesend was much frequented, both for the great ease, good cheape, and speedie transportation (requiring not one whole tide) he made offer on their behalves to the young King Richard the second, that if he would be pleased to grant unto the inhabitants of Gravesend and Mylton the privilege, that none shoulde transport any passengers by Water from Gravesend to London, but they only, in their own boates, then shoulde they of

those two parishes undertake to carrie all such passengers, either for two pence each one with his farthell (or trusse) or otherwise, making the whole fare (or passage) worth foure shillings. The King assented for the present, and some of his successors have sithence confirmed the graunt: besides the which, continuall usage hath so established the same, as it is notorious to all, not onely by the eie, but by delyverie of the Statute also, made 6. Henr. 8. cap. 7.

For the Order of this passage, and government of the Watermen labouring therein, there is belonging to that Manor a proper Court, intituled *Curia cursus aquæ*, which was for sundry yeeres discontinued, by the niggardly negligence of the Fermors of the Manor of Gravesende, but nowe lately hath beene revived by the Honourable care of the Lorde Cobham, Lorde Chamberlaine of her Maiesties Householde, owner of the same: And by the example heereof, they of London obtained (upon like offer) the like privilege of transportation from London to Gravesende, which also to this day they enioy accordingly.

King Henry the eight, warned by that which had happened, raised a platforme at Gravesende, one other at Mylton, and two others over against them on Essex side, to commaund the River in those places, at such time as he fortified other the Coastes of his Realme, as we have before opened.

HEIGHAM.

OF the Nunnes of Heigham Priorie I finde none other note, save onely that they were under the visita-

tion of the Bishop of Rochester. For in the beginning of the reigne of King Edward the third, Hamon of Heth Bishop there, confirmed the election of Mawde of Colchester, Prioresse of this house, and about fourteene yeeres after he visited both the head and whole companie, as the Registrar of Rochester, that wrote his actes and life, hath amongst many other small matters, somewhat curiously observed.

CLIFFE, *written commonly in auncient Bookes,* Cloves-hoo, *for* Cloſeſꝑoo, *which is as much to say, at* Cliffs hoo, *or* Cliffe at Hoo.

THEODORE the seventh Archbishop of Canterbury, and the first (in the opinion of William Malmesburie) that exercised the authoritie of an Archbishop (which appeered (as others say) in that he tooke upon him to depose Wilfrid of Yorke) called together a Synode of Bishops at Hereford; in which it was agreed amongst them, that for the more speedie reformation of abuses that might creepe into the Church, they should all assemble once every yeere at Cloveshoo, upon the Kalends (or first day) of August: By vertue of which decree, Cuthbert, the eleventh Archbishop, somoned the Bishops of his Province to the same place, and there (amongst other things woorthie note) it was enacted, that Priestes themselves should first learne, and then teach their Parishioners, the Lordes praier, and the Articles of their beleefe in the English tongue: To which decree, if you list to adde the testimonie of King Alfred, who in his Preface upon the Pastorall of

A learned age, in which Priestes had more Latine than English, and yet almost no Latine at all.

Gregorie, that he translated, saith, that when he came first to his kingdome, he knew not one Priest on the South side of the river of Humber that understood his service in Latine, or that coulde translate an Epistle into English: And if you will also adioine first that
870. which Alfric writeth in his Proeme to the Grammar, that is to say, that a little before the time of Dunstane the Archbishop, there was never an English Priest that could either endite, or understand a Latin Epistle: And then that which William of Malmesbury reporteth, to wit, that at the time of the Conquest, almost all the Bishops of England were unlearned: Then I doubt not but you shall evidently see, how easie it was for the Divell and the Pope to creepe into the Church of England, when (whole ages togither) the Clergie was so well fed, and so evill taught. But to our matter againe. By vertue of the same decree and ordinance
803. also, two other Councels were holden at Cliffe at Hoo: one under Kenulph, the King of Mercia, or middle
824. Englande, and the other in the reigne of Beornwulfe his successour. This place would I have coniectured to have lien in the hart of England, both bicause it seemeth likely that the common place of meeting should be most fitly appointed in the midst of the Realme, and for that it is manifest by the historie, that it was in the dominion of the King of Mercia, which I feare not to call middle England. But, for as much as I once read a note, made by one Talbot (a Prebendarie of Norwiche, and a diligent travailer in the English historie) upon the margine of an auncient written copie of William Malmesburies booke *De Pontificibus*, in which he expounded Cloveshoo), to be Cliffe at Hoo neare Rochester: and for that I do not finde the

expresse name (Cloveshoo) in all the catalogue of townes in that precinct which was sometime the kingdome of Mercia (although there be divers places therein that beare the name of Cliffe, as well as this) I am contented to subscribe to Talbots opinion: but with this protestation, that if at any time hereafter I finde a better, I will be no longer bound to follow him.

The towne is large, and hath thereto a great parish Church: and (as I have beene tolde) many of the houses were casually burned (about the same time that the Emperour Charles came into this Realme to visite King Henrie the eight) of which hurt it was never yet thorowly cured. It hath the name Cliffe, of the situation, and lieth in the hundred of Shamel, albeit that it be called at Hoo, which in deede is the hundred next adioyning, and taketh his name (as I suppose) of the effect: for Hoh in the olde English signifieth sorrowe, or sicknes, wherwith the inhabitants of that unwholsome hundreth be very much exercised. 1520. Stowe.

And thus have I now visited the places of chiefe note that lie in the skirts of the Diocese, whereunto if I had added a few other that be within the body of the same, I woulde no lesse gladly, than I must necessarily, finish and close up this winters traveil. The order of this description.

MEPHAM, *aunciently written* Meapaham.

SIMON Mepham (the Archbishop that performed the solemnities at the inauguration of King Edward the thirde) had bothe his nativitie and name of this towne, although Polydore Virgil hath no mention of

the man at all, in his historie, or catalogue of Arch-
1320. bishops, either not finding, or forgetting, that ever there was any such.

It is probable also, that the same Bishop builte the Church of Mepham, for the use of the poore, which William Courtney (one of his successours) repaired fower score yeeres after, and annexed thereunto fower new houses for the same ende and purpose.

The auncient fourme of a Testament.

Besides these notes, it hath chaunced me to see one antiquitie of Mepham, which both for the profit and pleasure that I conceived thereof, I thinke meete to insert, though happily some other man may say, that I do therein (and in many others also) nothing else but *Antiquiora Diphtera loqui.*

Neverthelesse, to the ende that it may appeere, what the auncient forme and phrase of a Testament was: howe the Husbande and the wife ioyned in making their Testaments: how landes were devisable by testament in olde time: by what wordes estates of inheritaunce were wont to be created: how the Lordes consent was thought requisite to the testament of the tenant: and how it was procured by a guift of Heriot, which as Bracton saieth, was done at the first, *Magis de gratia, quam de iure:* Furthermore, that you may see how this town of Mepham, and sundrie others came at the first to Christes church, S. Augustine, and Rochester: and finally, that you may know, as well what advauncement to Gentrie was then in use, as also what weapons, jewels, and ornaments were at that time worne and occupied, I will set before your eye, the last will and testament of one Byrhtric and his wife, which was a man of great wealth and possessions within this Shyre, and had his abiding at Mepham more than sixe hundreth yeeres agoe.

This is Birtricks and Elfswithes his wyves last The Stile.
Ðiſ iſ Bẏꝛ̄Ptꝛicef ⁊ Elꝼꝛꝑẏðe Pif pꝛꝼef niPꝛta
declaration,
testament, which they declared at Mepham, in their kinsefolkes
cꝛiðe. þe Pi cꝛæðon on Meapaham. on Peopa maȝa
witnesse:
hearing: that was Wulstan Ucca, and Wulfsie his bro- The Wit-
ȝepitneſſe; þ pæf pulꝼꝛtan Ucca, ⁊ pulꝼꝛie Pif bꝛo- nesses.

ther, and Syred Elfrides sonne, and Wulfsie the blacke,
ðoꝛ, ⁊ Siꝛeð Elꝼꝛiðef ſuna. ⁊ pulꝼꝛie ſe blaca.

and wyne the priest, and Elfgar of Mepham, and
⁊ pine pꝛeoſt. ⁊ Elꝼȝaꝛ on Meapaham. ⁊

Wulfey Ordeys sonne, and Elfey his brother, and
pulꝼeꝑ oꝛðeȝef ſuna. ⁊ Elꝼeꝑ Pif bꝛoðoꝛ. ⁊

Birtwar Elfrices widowe, and Britric her cousine, and
bẏꝛ̄Ptpapa Elꝼꝛicef laf. ⁊ bꝛẏ̄Ptꝛic Pife mæȝ. ⁊

Elfstane the Bishop.
Elꝼꝛtan biſceop;

First, to his naturall Lord, one bracelet of foure score The lega-
Fꝛeſt Pif cẏne Plafoꝛð ænne beaꝑ on Punðeaꝑ to- cies of
handknife goods and
dagger ornaments
Markes of golde, and one hatchet of as
tiȝan mancẏꝛen ȝolðef. ⁊ ane Panðꝛecf on eal ſpa

muche: and foure horses, two of them trapped: and two
miclan. ⁊ ꝓeopen Poꝛꝛe. tpa ȝepæðebe. ⁊ tpa

swordes trimmed, and two hawkes, and all his
ꝼpeꝑð ȝeꝼetelꝼoðe. ⁊ tpeȝen Paꝼocaꝼ. ⁊ ealle Pꝛꝼ
hedgehoundes. Lordes wife
houndes. And to the Ladie one bracelet of
Peaðoꝑ Punðaꝼ; ⁊ þæꝛe Plæꝼðian ænne beaP on
palfrey
stede
thirtie markes of golde: and one horse to
þꝛittiȝan mancuꝼan ȝolðeꝼ. ⁊ ænne ꝼtedan. to

The Lordes consent requisite.

intreate that this testament stande maye. And for his
ꝼoꝛeꝼpꝛæce þ ꝛe cpyðe ꝼtanðan moꝛte. ⁊ ꝼoꝛ Pꝛꝼ
auncestors Rochester
Legacies of landes, &c.

soule, and his elders to Sainct Androes two plowland
ꝼaꝑle. ⁊ Pꝛꝼ ylðpena. ınto Sct. Anðꝛee. tpa ꝼulunȝ

at Dentun. And they bothe for their soules and their el-
æt ðenetune; Anð Pıo ꝼoꝛ Pıꝛe ꝼaꝑle. ⁊ Pyꝛe yl-
ploughlande thither
ders, 2 at Longfield. And to the same place, for them thir-
ðpena. tpa æt lanȝaꝼelða; ⁊ þiðeꝛ ın ꝼoꝛ Pý ðꝛıt-
neckbracelet
tie markes of golde, and one collar of fourtie
tıȝ mancýꝛ ȝolðeꝼ. ⁊ ænne ꝼpeoꝛ beaP on ꝼeopeꝑ-

markes and a Cuppe of silver, and
tıȝ mancýꝛan, ⁊ ane Cuppan ꝼeolꝼꝼene. ⁊
headband covered with golde
a halfe bend gilden. And everie yeere at their
Pealꝼne bænð ȝýlðenne; ⁊ ælce ȝeaꝛe to Peoꝛa
rent corne and victuall
yeeres minde from
mynde two dayes ferme of Haselholte: and
ȝemýnðe. tpeȝꝛa ðaȝa ꝼeoꝛıme oꝼ PærlPolte. ⁊

from
two daies of Watringbery: and two dayes out of Berling,
ꝺpeȝna oꝼ poꝺꝼunȝabeꝼnan. ⁊ ii. oꝼ bæꝼlinȝan.

and two days out of Hertesham. And to Christes church
⁊ ii. oꝼ PæꝼuȝeaꝼꝺeꝼPam; ⁊ to cꝼiꝼteꝼ ciꝼcan
Archbishop
60. *markes of golde, thirtie to the Bishop and*
lx. mancỳꝼ ȝolꝺeꝼ. xxx. þam biꝼcope. ⁊
collar
thirtie to the Covent: And a necke bracelet
xxx. þam Pꝼioꝺe; ⁊ ænne ꝼpeoꝼ beaP

of 80. *markes: and two cuppes of silver,*
on lxxx. mancỳꝼ. ⁊ ꝺpa cuppan ꝼeolꝼþene.

and the land at Mepham. And to Sainct
⁊ þæt lanꝺ æt MeapaPam. ⁊ to Sct.
Augustine 30. *markes of golde, and two cuppes*
Auȝuꝼtine xxx. mancỳꝼ ȝolꝺeꝼ. ⁊ ii. cuppan

of sylver, and halfe a bend gilt. and Guift for life.
ꝼeolꝼþene. ⁊ Pealꝼne bænꝺ ȝỳlꝺene; ⁊
life
the land at Darnt to Byrware for his daies:
þæt lanꝺ æt ꝺeꝼentan bỳꝼPaꝼa Piꝼ ꝺæȝ;

And after his days to Sainct Androes, for
⁊ æꝼteꝼ Piꝼe ꝺæȝe into Sct. Anꝺꝼee. ꝼoꝼ
auncetors
us, and our elders. And Berling to Wulfee,
unc. ⁊ uncꝼe ỳlꝺꝼan; ⁊ Bæꝼlinȝaꝼ pulꝼePe

and he shall give a thousande pence to S. Androes for
⁊ Pe ꝼelle. x. Punꝺ peninȝa into Sct. Anꝺꝼee ꝼoꝼ

us, and our elders. And to Wulfsie Wateringbyrye,
unc. ȝ uncre yldran; ȝ pulfsie poðmȝabrap.

within that kinred. And to Syred Haselholt, within that
A kinde of guift, in Taile. innon þ ȝecynde; ȝ ſyſſede Þeſelholt innon þ ȝe-

kinred. And to Wulfey, and Elfey his brother Harte-
cende; ȝ pulfeȝe. ȝ Elfeȝe Þir bꝛeðeꝛ Þeꝛnȝe-
demeanes
sham, within that kinred, to Wulfee the inland, and
anðeſham innon þ ȝecynde. to pulfeȝe þ inland. ȝ
tenancie
to Elfey the outland. & to Wulfstane Ucca, Walkenstede,
Elfeȝe þ utland; ȝ pulffane uccan. polcneſtede
dagger
within that kinred: And a hatchet of three poundes,
innon þ ȝecynde; ȝ an Þandſcſ on ðrym pundan;

And those ten plowlands at Streiton to the myn-
ȝ þa tyn Þyda on Stꝛettune into þæm myn-
church
ster at Walkenstede. And the land at Falcham, af-
ſtre to polcneſtede. ȝ þ land æt fealcanham af-

ter Byrwares dayes, to Sainct Androes, for Elfrices
tre byrhhapa dæȝe, into Sct. Andꝛee. for Elfric

soule their Lord, and his auncetors, even as their will was
hire flafoꝛð. ȝ hir yldran. ſpa heopa cride pæſ;
life
And Brumley after Britwares daies to Sainct
ȝ bꝛomleah æftre bꝛihtpapa dæȝe into Sct.

Androes, as Elfric their Lorde it bequeathed, for
Ænðɲee. ɲpa Elfɲic Þÿne Þlafopð Þit becpæð. fop
auncetors
him and his elders. And Snodland also to
Þine ⁊ Þiɲ ÿldɲan; ⁊ Snodinzelanð eac into

S. Androes, after their daies, even as Elfere it bequeathed,
S. Ænðɲee æfɲne Þine ðeze. ɲpa Elfene Þit becpæð
presence
hearing
being Elfrices father, & he afterwarde in the witnesse of
Elfɲicef fæðep. ⁊ Þe ɲeoððan on zepitneɲɲe

Edgive the Ladie, and of Odo the Archbishop, and
Eaðzife ðæne Þlæfðian. ⁊ Oðan Æncebiɲceopef. ⁊

of Elfey Elfstanes sonne, and of Elfric his brother,
Elfezef Elfɲtanef ɲunu. ⁊ Elfɲicef Þiɲ bɲoðop

and of Elfnothe pilia, & of Godwine of Facham, & of
⁊ Elfnoþef pilian. ⁊ zoðpinef æt fæcÞam. ⁊

Eadric of Hoo, and of Elfsie the priest of Croy-
Eaðɲicef æt Þo. ⁊ Elfɲief ɲneoɲtef on Cɲoz-

den. And to Wulfstane 60. markes of golde to deale Almes.
ðæne; ⁊ pulfɲtane lx. mancaf zolðef to dælanne
60. *markes*
for us and our elders: and other such, to Wulfsie to
fop unc ⁊ uncpe ÿldɲan. ⁊ oðep ɲpilc pulfɲize to
betweene God and them be it
deale, and have they with God together, if they
dælanne; ⁊ Þæbban Þeom pið zoð zemæne. zif Þÿ

it do not. And to Wulfsie, Titæsey, and the writing
Pıt ne don; ⁊ pulfrıge tydıcefeg. ⁊ ðam boc.

within that kinred: & 2 spurres of 3 pound. And I pray
ınnon þ gecynde. ⁊ ii. fpuran on iii. pundan; ⁊ ıc bıð-
deere

The Lord is protector of the tenants will.

for Gods love, my leefe Lorde, that he do not
ðe for god lufan minne leofan Plafordð. þ Pe ne
turne aside
suffer that any man our testament doe breake. And I
þafigc þ ænig man uncefne cpıde afendе; ⁊ ıc

praye all Gods friendes, that they thereto helpe.
bıdde ealle godef fneond. þ Pı þerto fılftan;
Betweene them and God be it
Have they it with God together, that it do breake, and
Pæbbe pıð god gæmæne þe Pıt bpece, ⁊
mercifull keepe
God be to them alwaies mylde, that it holde will.
god fy Pım fymle mılde þe Pıt Pealdan pille;

The auncient estate of a Gentleman, and by what meanes gentrie was obteined in the olde time.

It shall suffice, for the most part of the matters (woorthie observation) in this testament, that I have already onely pointed at them (as it were) with my finger: for that they do appeere and shew themselves manifestly even at the first sight: Onely therefore, touching the estate and degree of this Testatour, I wil (for the more light and discoverie thereof) borow a few wordes of you.

He himselfe here calleth Aelfrie, his Lorde, and naturall Lord, and saith further, that Aelfere was Father to this Aelfric: Now, what Aelfere and Aelfric were, it is not hard to finde: for all our auncient

Historians tell us, that in the daies of King Edgar, of King Edwarde the Martyr, and of King Ethelred, these men were by birth, cousines of the bloud royall: by state (Eorler Earles) which woorde we yet reteine in English, and which we commonly cal *(Comites)* in Latine, for that at the first they were parteners and companions (as I may say) with the King, in taking the profites of the Shire, or Countie: that they were also by dignitie (Ealdormen) that is, Senators, and Governours of all Mercia, or middle England: And finally that they were of such great power and credite, that Aelfer the Father, immediately after the death of King Edgar, restored all such priests thorowout Midle England, to their houses, as the king (by advice of Dunstane the Monke) had in his life expulsed, for the placing of his Monks: And that Aelfric the sonne, resisted King Ethelred in that siege of Rochester, whereof you heard when we were there.

For as much therefore, as Aelfric was Þlaforð, or Lorde, to our Testator, and Þlaforð and Þegn, that is to say, Lorde and Serviteur, be woordes of relation, I gather, that he was Þegn, which signifieth properly a Minister, or free Serviteur, to the King, or to some great personage. But usually at those times taken for the very same, that wee cal now of the Latine woorde *(Gentilis)* a Gentleman, that is (Εὐγενὴς) a man well borne, or of a good stocke and familie.

Neither doth it detract any thing from his Gentrie at all, that I said he was a Minister, or Serviteur: for I meane not thereby, that he was *(Servus)* which woorde (straightly construed) doth signifie a servaunt, or slave, whom they in those daies called ðeope: but my minde is, that he was a servitour of free condition, either ad-

vaunced by his owne vertue and merite, or els descended of such auncestors, as were never degraded: And that name, the Prince of Wales, or eldest Sonne of our King of this Realme, doth not, in the life of his Father, disdaine to beare: For, out of the very same old word (Ðenian) to serve, is framed his Poesie, or woorde upon his armes (Ic Dien) I serve. The like whereof is upon the Armes of the Counties Palatine of Chester, and Durham also.

And thus I suppose that it is manifest, that Byrthryc our Testator was by condition a Noble man, or (which in common acceptance abroade is all one with it) a Gentleman.

Howbeit, to the ende that bothe this thing may have the more authoritie and credite, and that it may withall appeere what degrees of Nobilitie and Gentrie there were in this Realme before the comming in of the Normanes, and by what merits men might ascend and be promoted to the same, I will reach a little higher, and shew you another English (or Saxon) antiquitie, which I have seene placed in divers old copies of the Saxon lawes, after the end of all, as a note or advertisement.

It was sometime in the English lawes, that the people &
Þıt þeȝ Þylum on Ɛnȝlalaȝum ϸ leoð anð laȝum
dignitie
the lawes were in reputation: & then were the wisest of the
ꝑoꝛ beȝeþıncðum; Ænð þa pæꝛon leoð pıtan peoꝛð-
woorshipfull
people woorship woorthie, every one after his degree: Earle, and
ꝛcıpeȝ þýꝛða. ælc be Þıȝ mæðe. Ɛoꝛl anð

churle, Thein, & under Thein. And if a churle thrived so
Ceoꝛl. Ðeȝn anð Ðeoðen; Ænð ȝıf Ceoꝛl ȝeþeaÞ.

that he had fully five hides of his owne lande, a Churche,
þ Þe Þeþde fullice fif Þiða azenef lande. Cifican.

use
service
& a kitchen, a belhouse, & a gate, a seate, & a severall office
ȝ cycenan. belÞuf. and buflÞzeat. fetl. ȝ fundeflnote,

in the kings halle, then was he thencefoorth the Theine
on Cyngef Þealle. þonne pæf Þe þanonforð Ðezen-
woorthie
right woorthe. And if a Thein did so thrive, that he served
flgÞtef peorðe; And gif Ðezn zeþeaÞ. þ Þe þenoðe
progresse
iourney
the king, and on his message ryd in his housholde, If he
Cyngе. and Þif þaðrtefne það on Þif Þifeðe. gif fe
served him, *toward*
then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings
þonne Þeþde Ðezn ðe Þim filigðe. ðe to Cyngef

expedition *plowlandes* *palaice*
iourney five hides had, and in the kings seate his Lorde
utfare fif Þiða Þaþde. and on Cyngef fetl Þif Þlafforð
message
served, and thrice with his errande had gone to
ðenoðe. and ðurpa mið Þif æfend zefora to

Such an one
theking, He might afterwarde with his foreothe his Lordes
Cyngе. ðe morf fiððan mið Þif forande Þif Þlafforð

part playe at any great neede. And if a Thein did thrive so
arfelian. æt mirlican neoðan; And gif Ðezn zeðeaÞ.

woorthy
that he became an Earle, then was he afterwarde an Earles
þ Þe peaþe to Eorle. þonne pæ Þe þýðdan Eorlþiþ-
the rightes of an Earle.
right woorthy. And if a Merchant so thrived that he passed
ter peorðe; Ánd gif Maſſepe gebeaþ. þ Þe þepde
cunning
broad *science*
thrice over the wide Seas, of his owne crafte, he was
þrige ofer þi Sæ. be Þir agenum cræfte; þe þe

thencefoorth a Theins right woorthy. And if a
þonne ýðdan Ðegn riÞter peorðe; Ánd gif
thrived
Scholar so prospered thorowe learning that he degree had, and
leornepe gebeaþ. þurþ lare. þ Þe Þaþ Þæfde. and
privilege
served Christ, he was then afterwarde of dignitie & peace
þenoðe xpe. þe pæ þonne þýðdan mæðe and munde

so muche woorthy, as thereunto belonged: unlesse he
þa micelne ýnðe. þa þæto gebýnede. buton Þe
trespassed *might not use*
forfaited so, that he the use of his degree use ne might.
forforÞte. þ Þe þæ Þaþ note notian ne morte;

The degrees of Freemen, Earle, Theyn, & Churle.

By this you see, first, that in those daies there were but three estates of free men (for bond servants, which we do nowe since call by a strained worde Villaines are not here talked of) that is to say, an Earle, or Noble man, the highest: a Theyn, or Gentleman, the midlemost: And a Churle, or Yeoman, the lowest: and as touching that which is heere spoken of the ser-

vant of the Theyn, or Gentleman. I deeme it rather ment for a prerogative belonging to the maister, than mentioned as a severall degree in the man.

Neither doth it make against me in this division, that you shall many times reade, of Ealdorman. Scyr-man, Þeodoga, Seðcundman, ceorlþyndman, ceorþinde-man: for these be not names of difference in degrees, but they do either denote the offices and dignities, or els the estimation and values, of those to whome they be attributed: as Alderman and Shyreman, do signifie that Earle or Nobleman, to whome the government and charge of a Shyre, or other Precinct was committed: Þeodoga that Earle or great man, that was *(Imperator Belli)* the Lieutenant of the field: Syð-cundman, that Gentleman, that had the manred (as some yet call it (or the office, to lead the men, of a Towne, or Parish: And as for ceorlþindman, it was given to the Theyn, or Gentleman, bicause his life was valued at Twelve hundreth shillings (as in those daies the lives of all sorts of men were rated at certaine summes of money) And ceorþindman, to the Churle or Yeoman, bicause the price of his head was taxed at two hundreth shillings: which thing (if it were not expresly set foorth in sundry olde lawes yet extant) might well ynough be found in the Etymologie of the woordes themselves, the one being called a Twelf-hynd, as it were, a Twelfe hundred man, and the other a Twyhynd, for a man of Two hundreth.

Alderman, Shireman, &c. were names of Officers.

Furthermore, you may heere behold, with what discretion and equitie, our elders proceeded in bestowing these promotions: for whereas all Nobilitie and Gentrie is either, Native, or Dative, that is to say, commeth either by Discent, or by Purchase, whereof the

first, if it be not accompanied with vertue, is but an emptie signe, and none other thing, than (as one well saied) *Nobilitatem in Astragulis gestare:* But the latter (being both the maker and mainteiner of the first) as it ought by all reason to be rewarded with due enseignes of honour, to the end that vertue may be the more desirously embraced: So have they heere appointed three severall path waies to leade men streight unto it, that is to say, Service, Riches, and Learning, or (to speake more shortly) Vertue and Riches: in which two (as Aristotle confesseth) all the olde Nobilitie consisted, and which two (as the Ecclesiastes or Preacher teacheth) make a good accouplement: for (saith hee) *Utilior est sapientia, cum divitiis coniuncta.*

Wisdome is more profitable, when it is ioyned with riches.

And in this part, you may lastly perceive also, that out of all those trades of life, which be (στημαπσικα') that is to say, conversant in gaine, they admitted to the estate of Gentrie such onely, as increased by honest Husbandrie, and plentifull Merchandize: Of the first of which Cicero affirmeth, that There is nothing meeter for a Freeborne man: And of the other, that It is praise woorthy also, if at the length being satisfied with gaine, as it hath often come from the Sea to the Haven, So it chaunge from the Haven into landes and possessions.

Merchandize, and Husbandrie.

And therefore (in my fantasie) where as Gervas. Tilberiens. (in his observations of the Eschequer) accompteth it an abasing for a Gentleman to occupie *Publicum mercimonium,* common buying and selling, it ought to be referred to the other two parts of Merchandize, that is, to Negotiation, which is retayling, or keeping of a standing shop: and to Invection (which

is to exercise Mercerie) or (as some call it) to play the Chapman: and not to Navigation, or Merchandize, which (as you see) is the only laudable part of all buying and selling.

And againe, whereas the Civile Lawe saieth, *Patritii cum plebeiis coniugia ne contrahunto:* and in our law it is reputed a Disparagement for a warde in Chivalrie (which in old time was as much to say, as a Gentleman) to be maried to the daughter of one that dwelt in a Borowe, I thinke that it also ought to be restrained to such onely as professed handycrafts, or those baser Artes of buying and selling, to get their living by.

But of all this matter, my Maisters the Heralds can better infourme you, to whome (least I be blamed for thrusting my Sicle into another mans Harvest) I will without any more, referre you.

Tunbridge, Wrotham, this towne, and Northfleete, do lie North and South one from another: and it is a commune and received opinion amongst the Countrie people, that you may be conveyed from the Thamise side, to the edge of Sussex, in these foure Parishes: So that the whole Shyre (by that reckoning) should be but foure Parishes broade, and yet 19. or 20. myles over, on this part. If any man doubt of the truth, let himselfe make the triall, for I dare not warrant it.

WROTHAM, *in Latine by some,* Vagniacæ, *but mistaken. It is in the Domesday booke also corruptly written* (Broteham) *for I suppose, that* ꝑẏꝑꝺam, *is the very right name, given for the great plentie of woortes (or good herbes) that growe there.*

THERE was in Wrotham, of auncient time, a Manor house, perteining to the See of the Archbishops. For Gervasius witnesseth, that one Richard (the Archbishop that succeeded Thomas Becket) lay there: And that after suche time as he had, by great largition and briberie, prevailed at Rome, bothe against King Henrie (the sonne of the second of that name) in his owne consecration) against Roger the Bishop of Yorke in the quarel of pre-eminencie, and against others in other vaine suites, (so that it might never be more truly said of that Citie in Paganisme it selfe, *Romæ omnia ire venum,* than in that time of Papistrie) hee had a moste terrible dreame (or vision) in his sleepe at Wrotham, the manner whereof (as he reporteth) was this.

It seemed to him, that a very grave and reverend personage, came to his bed side by night, and demaunded of him in a loude voice, who art thou? with which noise, when the Archbishop awaked, and for feare answered nothing, it added moreover, Thou art he that hast scattered the goods of the Church committed to thy charge, and therefore I will scatter thee: and so (with the woorde) vanished out of sight.

The Archbishop arose in the morning, and having

intended a iourny to Rochester, addressed himselfe thitherward: but this vision continually presented it selfe before the eie of his minde, and so troubled him, that for ease of his inward griefe, he began to disclose the whole order of it to suche as were in his companie: whereof he had no sooner made an ende, but he was foorthwith stricken with such a horrour, and chill colde, that he was driven of necessitie to alight at Halling in his way, where in great torment he ended his life, the next day following.

This house continued heere, untill the time of Simon Islip, the Archbishop: who having a desire to finishe the Palaice at Maidstone, which Iohn Ufford his predecessour had begun, and wanting wherewith to accomplish it, not only pulled downe the building at Wrotham, and conveied the stuffe thither, but also obteined of the Pope, licence to levie a Tenth throughout his whole Province, to performe his worke withall.

KEMSING.

IN the late time of the Popish πολυθεια, the Image of Edith (the Daughter of King Edgar, and sometime Prioresse of Wylton in the West Countrie) was religiously frequented in the Church-yarde at Kemsing, for the preservation of Corne and Graine, from Blasting, Myldew, Brandeare, and such other harmes as commonly do annoy it. 1. The worship of many Gods. Saint Edithe, & her offering.

The manner of the which sacrifice was this: Some seelie bodie brought a pecke, or two, or a Bushell of Corne, to the Church: and (after praiers made) offered it to the Image of the Saint: Of this offering, the Priest

used to toll the greatest portion, and then to take one handful, or litle more of the residue (for you must consider he woulde bee sure to gaine by the bargaine) the which after aspersion of holy water, and mumbling of a fewe woordes of conjuration, he first dedicated to the Image of Saint Edithe, and then delivered it backe, to the partie that brought it: who then departed with full persuasion, that if he mingled that hallowed handfull with his seede Corne, it woulde preserve from harme, and prosper in growthe, the whole heape that he should sowe, were it never so great a Stacke, or mowgh.

I remember, that I have read in *Terentius Varro*, that the olde Romanes (amongst innumerable others) had in great veneration, one God, which (of Robigo, a canker in Corne) they called Robigus, and to whome they made devout intercession and solemne sacrifice, for the preservation and deliverie of their graine, from the selfe same annoyances, that ours is subiect unto.

How much that God of the Romanes, and our Goddesse of Kemsing, differed in profession, let som Popish gadder after straunge Gods make the accompt, for I my selfe can finde no oddes at all.

The olde and new Romans agree in many points of Religion.

And truly, were it not that I am loth to anticipate nowe before time, that which I shall (God graunting) have both fit place, and meete time to utter here after, I coulde easily shew, that the olde Romanes, and our new Romanists, agreed in manner throughout, both in the propertie and number of their Gods (if at the least they be numerable) in the manner and multitude of their sacrifices, in the times and forms of their solemnities, in the report of their false and fained miracles: and finally, almost in the whole heape and dunghill of their filthy and superstitious Idolatries

But I will awaite convenient seasons, and at this time give to everie man the same, and none other counsell, than Plutus, (a heathen Poet in deede, and yet in this behalfe more heavenly than any Papist) sometime gave in the like case, saying: *Unus dum tibi propitius est Iupiter, tu hosce minutos Deos flocci feceris.* While Iupiter is thy friend, set not thou a strawe by all these petie Gods.

Falcasius (or Fulco) de Breant, was owner of the Manor of Kemsing, and (by graunt of King Henrie the third) had a Market there upon each Monday. But that is long since lost, and the place shadowed by Sennocke the next Market: Howbeit, Kemsing is yet the mother Church (as they say) and Seale is but a childe (or Chappell) of it.

Otforde, *in Saxon*, Ottanford.

WE have mention in auncient historie of two famous battels foughten at Otforde, whereof the one happened amongst the Saxons themselves, contending for glorie and supreme sovereigntie: The other betweene the Danes and Saxons, striving for landes, lives, and libertie.

In the first, Offa the King of Mercia (having already ioined to his dominion, the most parte of Westsex, and Northumberland, and seeking to have added Kent also) prevailed against the inhabitants of this countrie, not without great slaughter of his owne subiects, and after the victorie, he both tooke divers landes from the Archbishopricke, and also transferred (as it were in triumphe) the Archbishops Chaire into his owne king- 773. 786.

dome, as you heard in the beginning. Neverthelesse he continued his favour towardes the priorie of Christes churche, and increased it with his owne guifte of Ickam, Roking, Perhamstede, Sandhyrst, this Otford, and sundry other landes in the same Shyre.

In the other fight, King Edmund (surnamed for his great strength, Ironside) obtained against King Canutus the Dane, a most honourable victorie, and pursued
1016. him (flying toward Shepey) until he came to Ailesforde: committing upon the Danes suche slaughter, and bloudie havocke, that if Edric the traitor had not by fraudulent counsell withholden him, (as we have before declared) he had that day made an end of their whole armie.

S. Thomas Beckets spitefull miracles.

These be the written antiquities that I finde of Otford, which happily some men will esteeme lesse, than the unwritten vanities of Thomas Becket, sometime owner of the place: And therefore, least any should complaine of wrong, you shall heare what they be also. It was long since fancied, and is yet of too many believed, that while Thomas Becket lay at the olde house at Otford (which of long time (as you see) belonged to the Archbishops, and whereof the olde hall and chapell onely doe now remaine) and sawe that it wanted a fit spring to water it, that he strake his staffe into the drie ground, (in a place thereof now called Sainct Thomas Well) and that immediately the same water appeered, which running plentifully, serveth the offices of the new house till this present day.

They say also, that as he walked on a time in the olde Parke (busie at his praiers) That he was much hindered in devotion, by the sweete note and melodie of a Nightingale that sang in a bush besides him: and

that therefore (in the might of his holinesse) he inioined, that from thencefoorth no birde of that kinde should be so bolde as to sing thereabout.

Some men report likewise, that for as much as a Smith (then dwelling in the towne) had cloyed his horse, He enacted by like authoritie, that after that time no Smith should thrive within the Parish. Innumerable such toyes, false Priestes have devised, and fonde people (alas) have beleeved, of this iolly Martyr, and Pope holy man: which, for the unworthinesse of the things themselves, and for want of time (wherewith I am streightened) I neither will, nor can, now presently recount, but must pursue the residue that pertaineth to this place.

S. Bartilmew of Otford and his offering.

For besides this Thomas, there was holden in great veneration at Otford, another Saint, called Bartilmew, the Apostle (as I trowe) for his feast day was kept solemne, both with a faire, and good fare there.

This man served the parson as Purveyour of his poultrie, and was frequented (by the parishioners, and neighbours about) for a most rare and singular propertie that he professed.

For the manner was, that if any woman (conceived with childe) desired to bring a male, shee shoulde offer to Saint Bartholmew a Cocke Chicken, and if her wish were to be delivered of a female, she should then present him with a Hen.

This Saint, was as good as Mancipera, whereof the common Adage grewe: and he differed not much from the Priests of olde Rome, called Luperci: For a litle of the water of the one, and the dooing of a certaine Ceremonie by the other, was (at pleasure) as able as Saint Bartholmew, to make barreine women become fruitfull.

Assuredly, through the fraude of this foxe, the Countrie people (as wise as capons) were many yeeres together robbed of their Hens and Cocks: till at the length it chaunced King Henrie the eight (after exchange made with the Archbishop for this Manor of Otford) to have conference with some of the Towne, about the enlarging of his Parke there: Amongst the which, one, called Maister Robert Multon (a man, whom for the honest memorie of his godly zeale and vertuous life, I sticke not to name) detesting the abuse, and espying the Prince inclined to heare him, unfolded the whole packe of the idolatrie, and prevailed so farre in favour, that shortly after, the King commaunded Saint Bartholmewe to be taken downe and to be delivered unto him.

Thus have you hearde, the contention of the Saxons, the overthrowe of the Danes, the fraude of Popish Priestes, the follie of simple folkes, and the fall of deceitfull idolatrie. Now a few woordes (for example) of the prodigalitie of a proude Prelate, and then to the residue.

The Palace at Otford.

William Warham the Archbishop, minding to leave to posteritie, some glorious monument of his worldly wealth, and misbegotten treasure, determined to have raised a gorgious Palaice for himselfe and his successours in the Citie of Canterbury, but (upon occasion of a difference that arose betweene him and the citizens for the limits of his soyle there) he chaunged his former purpose, and in displeasure towards them, bestowed at Otforde, thirty and three thousand poundes, upon the house that is now to be seene, notwithstanding that hee himselfe, Morton his immediate predecessour, and Bourchier before him had not long before liberally

builded at Knolle, a house little more than two miles from it.

For, that house also (so called of the situation which is upon the knap, (or Knoll) of a hill,) had Bishop Bourchier in the beginning of his time purchased of William Fynys the Lorde Saye, of the Seale, and appropriated it to the See of the Archbishopricke.

Erasmus doth misreport the cause of the contention, between the King & Thomas Becket.

But now before I can depart from Otford, I am to begge licence for a woorde or two more, as well for the satisfaction of mine owne promise heeretofore made, as also for the direction of my Reader, which otherwise by the countenance of a certaine famous and learned writer, might be quight and cleane carried from me.

Des. Erasmus taking occasion, in the Preface to Frauncis the French King, (prefixed before his Paraphrase upon Saint Markes Gospell) to discourse upon the great troubles and warres that were in his time betweene the Princes of Christendome, declareth, that it were a laudable labour for some man of the Clergie (even with the hazard of his life) to become the instrument of their reconciliation.

And amongst other examples of times passed, he bringeth in Thomas Becket, who (as he speaketh) spared not to exercise the Evangelicall libertie (meaning excommunication, belike) upon the King himselfe, and that for a verie small matter: wherein, although he profited little in his life (saith he) yet by his death he purchased both gaine and glorie, to himselfe, and the whole Clergie.

Which saide, he addeth in effect as followeth: They contended (saith he) not for reconciling Princes one to another, but the controversie was onely for a cer-

taine withdrawing house, called Otforde, a place more meete for a religious mans meditation, then for a Princes pleasure, with the which (saith Erasmus) I my selfe could not have beene greatly in love, till such time as William Warham the Archbishop, bestowed so great cost upon it, that he might be thought rather to have raised a new house in the place, than to have repaired the olde: for he left nothing of the first woorke, but onely the wals of a hall, and a chapell.

Thus farre out of Erasmus. Wherein first (by the way) you may espie the reason that mooved King Henrie the eight, to take that house by exchaunge from the Archbishop, namely, bicause Warham (not contented to continue it a plaine house, fit to withdrawe himselfe unto for contemplation and praier) had so magnificently enlarged the same, that it was now become meete, to make a Palaice for a Kings habitation and pleasure.

But let us come to our matter. You see heere that Erasmus maketh this house, the matter, and motive of al the contention that was betweene the King and the Archbishop: which if it be so, then have not I faithfully dealt, in laying the cause thereof to be such, as appeereth in Canterburie before, and consequently, I have too too much abused the Reader.

But for a short answere hereto, I doe eftsoones avow, that not onely William of Newburgh, Roger Hoveden, and Mathew Parise (whom chiefly I have followed in this storie, and which all, were, either men living when the matter was in hande, or borne immediately after) do plainly testifie with me, that the ordinaunces made at Clarendune, were the very subiect and motive of all that strife: but also the whole

number of our historiens following, yea and the very authours of the Quadriloge it selfe (or song of foure parts, for they yeeld a concent, though it be without Harmonie) doe all, with one pen and mouth, acknowledge the same.

Amongst the rest, Polydore sheweth himselfe exceeding angrie, with some that had blowne abroad some such like sound of the cause of this great hurley burley: for he saith plainly, that they were *Amentiæ pleni, qui deblaterabant, Thomam conservandarum possessionum caussâ, tantum injuriarum accepisse,* starke madde, which babbled that Thomas did receive so manie iniuries, for saving of his possessions.

But for all this, to the ende that it may fully appeere, both that Erasmus hath said somewhat, and also from whence (as I suppose) this thing was mistaken, I pray you heare the Quadriloge or storie of his life it selfe: for that only shall suffice to close up the matter.

It appeereth by the authors of that worke, that after such time as the King and the Bishop had long contended (and that with great heate) about the Statutes of Clarendune, and that the Bishop, upon great offence taken, had made three severall attempts to crosse the Seas towarde the Pope, and was alwaies by contrarie winde repulsed, and driven to the land againe: The King in his iust indignation, sought by all possible meanes to bridle his immoderate peevishnesse: and therefore, first resumed into his owne handes, all such honors and castles of his owne as he had committed to the Bishops custodie: Then called he an assembly of all his Nobility and Bishops to Northampton castle, where before them all, he first charged Thomas with five hundred poundes that he had long before lent

him: for the re-paiment whereof, he there compelled him to give five severall sureties.

This done, he called him to an account for thirtie thousand Markes, received of the revenues of the crowne, during the time that he was Chauncelour. Now, whilest the Archbishop was much troubled with this matter (sometime denying to yeelde any account at all, sometime craving respite to make a resolute answere, but alwaies delaying the time, and meditating how to shift the place) there come (on a time) into his lodging, the Bishops of London and Chichester: who, finding him at supper, saide unto him (woorde for woorde of the Quadriloge) as followeth, that is, That they had found out a way for peace: and when the Archbishop had required, under what forme? They answered: There is a question for money betweene you, and the King: If therefore you will assigne unto the King, your two Manors, Otford and Wingham in the name of a pledge, we beleeve that he being therewith pacified, will not onely resigne you the Manors againe, and forgive you the money, but also a great deale the sooner receive you to his favour. To this, the Archbishop replied, The Manor of Hethe was sometime belonging to the Church of Canterburie (as I have hearde) which the King now hath in demeane: And albeit that the only challenge of the thing is sufficient cause to have it restored to the Church of Canterbury, yet I doe not looke that it will be done in these times: Neverthelesse, rather than I will renounce the right, which the Church of Canterbury is saide to have in that Manor, either for the appeasing of any trouble whatsoever, or for recoverie of the Kings favour, I will offer this head of mine (and touched it) to any

The Manor of Wingham.

hazarde or daunger, whatsoever it be: The Bishops being angrie with this, went out from him, and tolde the King of all, and his indignation was sore kindled with it. Thus much out of the Quadriloge faithfully translated.

Now, upon the whole matter, it appeereth: first, that the quarrell was for the lawes of Clarendune which yet depended: and then, that, even as a fire being once kindled, the flame seeketh all about, and imbraceth whatsoever it findeth in the way: So the King being offended with the rebellion of this Bishop, left no stone untaken up, that might bee hurled at him, and therefore brought in against him, bothe debtes, accomptes, and whatsoever other meanes of annoyaunce.

Moreover, it falleth out that this matter of Otforde and Wingham (for as you now see it was not Otford alone) was not at all tossed betweene the King and the Archbishop, but mooved onely by the pacifiers (these two Bishops) as a meete meane of reconciliation in their owne opinion and iudgement: or, if it may be thought, that they were sent and suborned by the King himselfe with that devise: yet is it manifest that the right of the houses themselves was not desired, but onely that they might remain as a paune til the accounts were audited: Nether if the gift of this house would have made an ende of the strife, doth it by and by follow, that the contention was mooved at the first about it.

And therefore, as on the one side you may see, that Erasmus his report is but matter of Preface, and no Gospell: So yet on the other side it is evident, that of such and so lustie a stomacke was this Archbishop,

that if former cause had not beene, yet he could have found in his hart to fall out with his Prince for this, or for a smaller matter.

For, what would he not adventure for a Manor or twaine in lawfull possession, that would not stick to hazard his head before he would release that right, which he thought he had to a piece of lande, and that but onely by hearesay, or supposition; But it is more than time to make an end, and therefore leaving Thomas, and his house, in the bottom, let us now climbe the Hill toward Sennocke.

HOLMES DALE, *that is to say, the Dale betweene the wooddie hilles.*

Reigate Castle in Surrey.

THERE are as yet to be seene, at Reigate in Surrey, the ruines of an ancient castle sometime belonging to the Earls of Surrey, which Alfrede of Beverley calleth Holme, and which the Countrie people do yet terme, the Castle of Holmesdale. This tooke the name, of the Dale wherein it standeth, which is large in quantity, extending it selfe a great length into Surrey, and Kent also, and was (as I coniecture) at the first called Holmesdale, by reason that it is (for the most part) Convallis, a plaine valley, running between two hils, that be replenished with stoare of wood: for, so much the very word (Holmesdale) it selfe importeth.

In this Dale (a part of which we now crosse, in our way to Sennocke) the people of Kent (being encouraged by the prosperous successe of Edwarde their King, the Sonne of Alfrede, and commonly sur-

named Edwarde the Elder) assembled themselves, and gave to the Danes, that had many yeers before afflicted them, a moste sharpe and fierce encounter, in the which, after long fight they prevailed, and the Danes, were overthrowne and vanquished. 904.

This victorie, and the like event in an other battaile (given to the Danes at Otforde, which standeth in this same valley also) begate, as I gesse, the common by woord, used amongst the inhabitauntes of this vale, even till this present day, in which they vaunt after this manner,

The vale of Holmesdale,
Never wonne, nor never shale.

SENNOCKE, *or (as some call it)* Seven oke, *of a number of trees, as they coniecture.*

ABOUT the latter ende of the reigne of King Edwarde the thirde, there was found (lying in the streetes at Sennocke) a poore childe, whose Parents were unknowne, and he (for the same cause) named after the place where he was taken up, William Sennocke. The Schoole and Almes-house.

This Orphan, was by the helpe of some charitable persons, brought up and nourtured, in suche wise, that being made an Apprentice to a Grocer in London, he arose by degrees (in course of time) to be Maior, and chiefe magistrate of that Citie. 1418.

At which time, calling to his minde, the goodnes of Almightie God, and the favour of the Townesmen, extended towardes him, he determined to make an everlasting monument of his thankfull minde for the same.

1418. And therefore, of his owne charge, builded both an Hospitall for reliefe of the poore, and a Free Schoole for the education of youthe within this Towne: endowing the one and the other, with competent yeerely living (as the daies then suffered) towards their sustentation, and maintenance: But since his time, the Schoole was much amended by the liberalitie of one Iohn Potkyn, which lyved under the reigne of King Henrie the eight: and now lately also, in the second
1542. yeere of the reigne of our sovereigne Ladie, through the honest travaile of divers the inhabitants there, not only the yeerely stipend is much increased, and the former litigious possessions quietly established: but the corporation also chaunged into the name of Wardeins, and foure assistants, of the towne and parish of Sennocke, and of the Free Schoole of Queene Elizabeth in Sennocke.

The Town. The present estate of the Towne it selfe is good, and it seemeth to have been (for these many yeeres together) in no woorse plight: And yet finde I not in all historie, any memorable thing concerning it, save onely, that in the time of King Henrie the sixt, Iack Cade, and his mischievous meiny, discomfited there
1449. Sir Humfrey Stafford, and his Brother, two Noble Gentlemen, whom the King had sent to encounter them.

ELTHAM.

An edifying Bishop. ANTHONIE Becke, that Bishop of Durham, which in the reignes of King Henrie the thirde, and of King Edward his Sonne, builded Auclande Castle in the

Bishopricke of Durham, Somerton Castle in Lincolnshire, and Durham place at London, was (by the report of Iohn Leland) either the very Author, or the first beautifier, of this the Princes house here at Eltham also.

It is noted in historie of that man, that he was in all his life and Port, so gay and glorious, that the Nobilitie of the Realme disdained him greatly therefore. But they did not consider (belike) that he was in possession Bishop of Durham, which had *Iura regalia*, the Prerogatives of a pety kingdome: and that he was by election, Patriarch of Ierusalem, which is neere Cousin to a Popedome: in which respects, he might well ynough be allowed to have *Domus splendidas luxu regali*, his houses, not onely as gay as the Noble mens, but also as gorgeous as the Kings owne. But, *Sequuntur prodigum rapinæ:* Pillage, is the handmaide of prodigalitie. For, as it is the condition of Prodigal men to catch from some, to cast to others: So this man, having gotten this and other lands by defrauding that trust, which the last Lorde Vescy reposed in him for the behoofe of a Bastard that he left, he bestowed it (as Master Camden writeth) upon Eleonor the Wife of King Edward the first, for supportation (I think) of his owne haughtinesse, and vaine glorie.

And yet he builded no faster here, than he destroied in other places, as may appeere by a complaint exhibited in Parlement against him, for destruction of the woods, and oppression of the tenants of his Bishopricke, whereupon also a speciall prohibition was awarded to restraine him.

To say the trueth, this was not Bishoplike to builde up the spirituall house with lively stones, resting on

the chiefe corner to Heaven, and to Godward: but with Mammon and Materiall stuffe to erect warrlike Castles for the nourishment of contention, and stately Palaces, for the maintenance of worldly pride and pleasure, towardes Hell and the Divell. Howbeit, letting all that passe, let us see what afterwardes became of this peece of his building.

1270. King Henrie the Third (saith Mat. Parise) toward the latter ende of his reigne, kept a Royall Christmas (as the manner then was) at Eltham, being accompanied with his Queene and Nobilitie: and this (belike) was the first warming of the house (as I may call it) after that the Bishop had finished his worke. For I do not hereby gather, that hitherto the King had any propertie in it, for as much as the Princes in those daies, used commonly both to soiourne for their pleasures, and to passe their set solemnities also, in Abbaies and in Bishops houses. But yet (as you see) soone after the house came to the possession of the Crowne: for more proofe whereof I praye you heare and marke what followeth also.

1315. The wife of King Edward the second, bare unto him a Sonne at his house, who was thereof surnamed
1363. Iohn of Eltham. What time King Iohn of Fraunce (which had been prisoner in England) came over to visite King Edward the third (who had most honorably intreated him) the King and his Queen lay at Eltham to entertaine him.

1412. King Henry the fourth also, kept his last Christmasse at Eltham. And King Henry his sonne and
1414. successour, lay there at a Christmas likewise, when he was faine to depart suddenly, for feare of some that had conspired to murder him.

Furthermore, Iohn Rosse writeth plainly, that King Edward the fourth, to his great cost, repaired his house at Eltham: at which time also (as I suppose) he inclosed Horne parke, one of the three, that be here, and enlarged the other twaine. 1476.

And it is not yet fully out of memorie, that King Henry the seventh, set up the faire front over the mote there: since whose reigne, this house, by reason of the neerenesse to Greenewiche (which also was much amended by him, and is through the benefite of the River, a seate of more commoditie) hath not beene so greatly esteemed: the rather also for that the pleasures of the emparked groundes here, may be in manner as well enioyed, the Court lying at Greenwiche, as if it were at this house it selfe.

The peroration of this worke

These be the things that I had to remember in Eltham: And (to make an ende of all) these be the places, whereof I meant to make note in this my Xenagogie and Perambulation of Kent, the first and onely Shyre that I have described: wherein although I have not spoken of sundry Townes, nothing inferiour, at this present, in estimation to a great many that I have handeled, and happily equall with them in antiquitie also, yet I thinke I have neither pretermitted many that be much worthie of observation, nor scarcely omitted any, that be mentioned in such bookes of Historie, as bee easily to be had and obteined.

But as for the Feodaries and Tenures of land, the Genealogies and Armes of men, the Ebbes, Floudes, and Tides of the Sea and Rivers, the Flattes, and Barres of Havens, and such other more hidden things, although somewhat might have beene severally said concerning each of them, yet have I wittingly, and

without touch, lept over them all: Partly for the incerteintie, partly that I scatter not any seede of dissention and envie, and partly least, whilest (by disclosing secrets, and labouring to serve the curiositie of some few) I either offend many of the sadder sort, or deserve evill of the whole Estate.

Now therefore, I will both deliver you, and rest me: wishing that some other man of greater profite in reading, deapth in Iudgement, and Dexteritie in penning, woulde have undertaken the labour. For as I at the first assaied it, to proove my selfe, to provoke any, and to pleasure and profite others: So, having now atchieved it (after the measure of my small talent) if any man shall like to take this mettall, drawen by me out of a fewe Sowes into many sheetes, and will hammer it to some further and finer fashion, I will not onely not envie it, but will most gladly thanke him, and gratulate to our Countrie so good a turne and benefite.

As touching the description of the residue of this Realme, finding by this one, how harde it will be for any one (and much more for my selfe) to accomplish it for all, I can but wish in like sort, that some one in each Shyre woulde make the enterprise for his owne Countrie, to the end that by ioyning our Pennes, and conferring our labours (as it were, *ex symbolo*) we might at the last by the union of many partes and papers compact one whole and perfect bodie and booke of our English Topographie.

Here left I (good Reader) when I first set foorth this Woorke: Since which time I finde my desire not a little served by Master Camdens *Britannia:* wherein, as he hath not onely farre exceeded whatsoever hath been formerly attempted in that kynd, but hath

also passed the expectation of other men and even his own hope: So do I acknowledge it written to the great Honour of the realme with men abroad and to the singular delight of us all at home, having for mine own particular found my self thereby to have learned much even in that Shyre wherein I had endevoured to know most. Neverthelesse, being assured that the Inwardes of each place may best be knowen by such as reside therein, I can not but still encourage some one able man in each Shyre to undertake his owne, whereby both many good particularities will come to discoverie every where, and Master Camden him selfe may yet have greater choice wherewith to amplifie and enlarge the whole.

The Customes of Kent.

ALTHOUGH good order mighte have borne the rehersall of the ancient Customes of this Shire, in that generall discourse which we had in the beginning as touching the estate of this whole Countrie, the rather for that it was there shewed by what meanes and policie they were conserved: yet, least the recitall of the same (being of themselves large and manifold) might have beene thought too great a Parenthesis, or rather an interruption of the Historie, wherein wee were as then but newly entred, I thought it better to reserve them for this place: to the ende, that both the one and the other, might appeere, without breach, or confusion.

These Customes, therefore, being (for the most part) discrepant from the common lawes of our Realme,

and annexed to such landes within this Shyre, as beare the name of Gavelkinde, are commonly called Gavelkinde Customes, for that they prevaile and have place, in landes of Gavelkinde nature. In which respect, it shall not be amisse to shew, for what reason those landes were at the first so termed, and why they doe yet hitherto continue the name.

Two coniectures I have of the reason of this name: The one grounded upon the nature of the discent, and inheritance of these lands themselves: The other founded upon the manner of the dutie and services, that they yeelde: bothe which I will not sticke to recite, and yet leave to each man free choice, to receive either, or to refuse both, as it shall best like him.

The name Gavelkind whereof it arose.

I gather by Cornelius Tacitus, and others, that the auncient Germans, (whose ofspring we be) suffered their landes to descende, not to the Eldest Sonne alone, but to the whole number of their male Children: and I finde in the 75. Chapter of Canutus lawe (a King of this Realme before the Conquest) that after the death of the father, his heires should divide both his goods, and his lands amongst them.

Now, for as much as all the next of the kinred did this inherite together, I coniecture, that therefore the land was called, either Gavelkyn, in meaning, Give all kyn, bicause it was given to all the next in one line of kinred: or Give all kynd, that is, to all the male children: for kynd, in Dutch, signifieth yet a male childe. Besides this, the Welshmen also (who but now lately lost this custome) do in their language call this discent, Gwele, and in their Latine Recordes, *Lectus, progenies, et gavella,* of their own woord,

Gefeilled, which signifieth Twins, or such as be borne together, bicause they doe all inherite together, and make (as it were) but one heire, and not many.

And here (by the way) I cannot omit to shew, that they of this our Kentish countrie, do yet call their partition of lande (shifting) even by the very same woord that the lawe of Canutus many yeeres since termed it, namely (Scyrtan) in Latine, *Herciscere*, that is, to shift, depart, or divide land. To shift land is an olde terme.

My other coniecture, is raised upon the consideration of the rent and services going out of these landes: for it is well knowen, that as Knights service lande, required the presence of the tenant, in warfare and battaile abroad: So this land (being of Socage tenure) commaunded his attendance at the plough, and other the Lordes affaires of husbandry, at home: the one by manhoode defending his Lordes life and person, the other by industrie mainteining with rent, corne, and victual, his estate and familie.

This rent, and customarie paiment of woorkes, the Saxons called, ȝafol, and thereof (as I thinke) they named the lande that yeelded it ȝafolette, or ȝafolcyns, that is to say, lande Letten for rent, or of the kinde to yeelde rent. In this sense I am sure, that the rents, customes, and services, which the tenants of London pay to their lande lordes, were woont (and yet are) to be recovered, by a Writ, thereof called Gavellet, as by an auncient statute, made in the tenth yeere of King Edward the second, intituled, *Statutum de Gaveleto*, in London, and by daily experience there, it may well appeere. Thus much then concerning the Etymon of this woorde Gavelkinde, being said, let us proceede further.

The antiquitie of Gavelkind custome.

It hath already appeered, how the Kentishmen, immediately after the Conquest, obteined the continuation of their customes: and it is very manifest by auncient writers, that the same (for the more part) have beene in use and exercise ever since. For (omitting that which Thomas Spot hath written concerning the same matter, for as much as it is already recited at large) Glanvile, a learned man, that flourished in the reigne of King Henrie the second, in his seventh booke, and thirde chapter: Bracton, that lived in the time of King Henrie the third, in his second booke, *De acquirendo rerum domino:* And Bretton, that wrate under King Edwarde the first, and by his commandement: have all expresse mention, of landes partible amongst the males by usage of the place, and some of them recite the very name of Gavelkind it selfe. But most plainly of all, an auncient Treatise, received by tradition from the handes of our elders (whereof I my selfe have one exemplar, written out, as I suppose, in the time of King Edwarde the first) agreeing with the daily practise of these customes, prooveth the continuance of them, to stand with good lawe and liking. And therfore, forbearing (as needlesse) further testimonie in that behalfe, I will descende to the disclosing of the customes themselves: not numbring them by order as they lye in that treatise, but drawing them forth as they shal concerne, either the lande it selfe, or the persons that I will orderly speake of, that is to say, particularly the Lord and the Tenant: The husband and the wife: The childe and the gardien, and so after addition of a few other things incident to this purpose, I will drawe to an end.

The division of this discourse.

As touching the lande it selfe, in which these cus-

tomes have place, it is to be understanded, that all the lands within this Shyre, which be of auncient Socage tenure, be also of the nature of Gavelkind. For, as for the lands holden by auncient tenure of Knights service, they be at the common lawe, and are not departible after the order of this custome, except certeine, which being holden of olde time by Knights service of the Archbishop of Canterbury, are neverthelesse departible, as it may appeere by an opinion of the Iudges in the Kings Benche, 26. H. 8. fol. 4. And that grew by reason of a graunt, made by King Iohn, to Hubert the Archbishop, the tenor whereof (being exemplified out of an auncient roll, late remaining in the handes of the deceased Reverend father, Mathew, the Archbishop) hereafter followeth.

What lands be of Gavelkind nature.

Some Knight fee is Gavelkind.

Ioannes Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normaniæ, Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegaven. Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iusticiariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis ministris, et omnibus Ballivis, et fidelibus suis: Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse, et præsenti charta nostra confirmasse, venerabili patri nostro ac Chro. Huberto, Cantuar. Archiepiscopo, et successoribus suis in perpetuum, quòd liceat eis terras, quas homines de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantua. tenent in Gavelkind, convertere in feodo militum. Et quod idem Episcop. et successores sui, eandem in omnibus potestatem, et libertatem habeant in perpetuum, in homines illos qui terras easdem ita in feodo militum conversas tenebunt, et in hæredes eorum quam ipse Archiepiscopus habet, et successores sui post eum habebunt, in alios milites de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuar. et in hæredes. Et homines illi, et hæredes eorum, eandem et omnem libertatem

habeant in perpetuum, quam alii milites de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuar. et hæredes eorum habent. Ita tamen, quod nihilominus consuetus redditus denariorum, reddatur integrè de terris suis, sicut prius, xenia, averagia, et alia opera, quæ fiebant de terris iisdem, convertantur in redditum denariorum æquivalentem. Et redditus ille reddatur, sicut alius redditus denariorum. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus, quod quicquid prædictus Archiepiscopus et successores sui post eum, de terris illis in feodo militum secundum præscriptam formam convertendis fecerint, ratum in perpetuum et stabile permaneat. Et prohibemus ne quis contra factum ipsius Archiepiscopi, vel successorum suorum, in hac parte venire præsumat. Teste E. Eliense, et S. Bathon, Episcopis. G. filio Petri, comite Essex. Willmo Marescallo, comite de Penbroc. Roberto de Harocort. Garino, filio Geraldi. Petro de Stoke. Ric. de Reverus. Roberto de Tateshal. Datum per manum S. Archid. Willielmi apud Rupem aurival. 4. die Maii Anno regni nostri tertio. And I finde a Note of a Recorde, within 4. yeeres after, to this effect: "*Henricus Pratt dat Regi.* 2. *palfredos,* "*pro habenda confirmatione Domini Regis de* 4. *Iu-*"*gatis et.* 5. *acris terræ, in villa de* Bradborne *in* "Gavelkynd *ad tenendum de cætero in dimidio feodi* "*militis, sicut Charta* Baldwini *de* Betun *Comitis* "*Albemarlæ testatur: Fyn. Reg. Ioannis, memb.* 8. But now for as much as it is disputable, whether these actes of the King and other men be of sufficient vertue to chaunge the nature of the Gavelkynd land or no, and for that the certeintie of all the landes so converted into Knight fee, doth not any where (that I have seene) appeere (onely in a copie of the booke of

Aide, levied in this Shire, Anno. 20. Edward. 3. it is foure or five times noted, that certeine landes there, be holden in Knights service, *Per novam licentiam Archiepiscopi)* I will leave this, and proceede to proove that all the landes of auncient tenure in Knights service, be subiect to the ordinarie course of discent at the common lawe. And that may I (as me thinketh) sufficiently doe, both by the expresse wordes of a note. 9. H. 3. in the title of Præscription, 63. in Fitzherbert: by the resolution of the same Fitzherbert, and Norwiche, Iustices, 26. H. 8. 5. And by plaine recital, in the acte of Parleament, made 31. H. 8. Ca. 3. by which statute, the possessions of certeine Gentlemen (there named) were delivered from this customarie discent, and incorporated to the common lawe. For (amongst other things) in that acte it is saide, That from thencefoorth, such their landes shal be changed from the saide Custome, and shal descend as lands at the common lawe, and as other lands being in the saide countie of Kent, which never were holden by service of Socage, but alwaies have beene holden by Knights service, do descend. By which woordes it is verie evident, that the makers of that estatute, understood all lands holden by Knights service, to be of their proper nature descendable after the common lawe, and that Socage tenure was the onely subiect in which this our custome of Gavelkynd discent had place and prevailed.

Auncient Knight fee, is not of the nature of Gavelkynd.

But when I thus speake of Socage, and Knights fee, I must alwaies be understanded to meane of a tenure long since, and of auncient time continued, and not now newly, or lately created: for so it may fall out otherwise then is alreadie reported. As for exam-

ple. If land aunciently holden by Knights service, come to the Princes hand, who afterwarde giveth the same out againe to a common person, to be holden of his Manor of Eastgrenewiche in Socage, I suppose that this land (notwithstanding the alteration of the tenure) remaineth descendable to the eldest son only, as it was before: As also, in like sorte, if landes of auncient Socage service come to the crowne, and be delivered out againe, to be holden either of the Prince *in Capite*, or by Knights service of any Manor, I thinke it ought to descend according to the custome, notwithstanding that the tenure be altered.

And if this be true, in the graunt of the King himselfe, then much lesse (saving the reverence due to King Iohns Chartre) might the Archbishop or any other by a new creation of tenure, make to his tenants any alteration, of this olde custome and maner. For, as the pleading is, *Quod terræ prædictæ sunt de tenura et natura de Gavelkind:* Even so the trueth is, that the present tenure only guideth not the discent, but that the tenure and the nature together, do governe it. And therefore, as on the one side, the custome cannot attache, or take holde of that which was not before in nature subiect to the custome, that is to say, accustomably departed: So on the other side, the practise of the custome, long time continued, may not be interrupted, by a bare alteration of the tenure. And this is not my fantasie, but the resolution of all the Iustices (as Iudge Dalison himselfe hath left reported) 4. and 5. Philippi and Mariæ: And also of the Court. 26. H. 8. 5. where it was affirmed, that if a man being seised of Gavelkind lande, holden in Socage, make a gift in taile, and create a tenure in Knights service,

The change of Gavelkind tenure, is no change of the nature of Gavelkind.

that yet this land must descend after the custome, as it did before the chaunge of the tenure.

A contrarie usage, changeth not the nature of Gavelkind.

Moreover, as the chaunge of the tenure cannot prevaile against this custome: So neither the continuance of a contrarie usage, may alter this prescription. For it is holden. 16. E. 2. Præscription. 52. in Fitzherbert, that albeit the eldest sonne only hath (and that for many discents together) entered into Gavelkynde land, and occupied it without any contradiction of the younger brothers, that yet the lande remaineth partible betweene them, when so ever they will put to their claime. Against which assertion, that which is saide 10. H. 3. in the title of Præscription. 64. namely of the issue taken thus, *Si terra illa fuit partibilis, et partita, nec ne,* is not greatly forceable. For it is not expresly there spoken of Kent (where the custome is most generall) and although it were so that the lande were never departed in deede, yet if it remaine partible in nature, it may be departed when so ever occasion shall be ministred. And therefore, even in the forme of pleading used at this day *(Quod terra illa, à toto tempore &c. partibilis fuit, et partita)* it is plainly taken, that the woord *(partibilis)* onely is of substance, and that the woorde *(partita)* is but of forme, and not materiall, or traversable at all. And this caused them of the Parlement (31. H. 8. cap. 3.) to speake in the disiunctive, that have beene departed, or bee departible.

Yea, so inseparable is this custome from the land in which it obteineth, that a contrarie discent (continued in the case of the Crowne it selfe) cannot hinder, but that (after such time as the lande shall resort againe to a common person) the former inveterate custome

shall governe it. As for the purpose. Landes of Gavelkynde nature come to the Queenes handes, by purchase, or by eschete, as holden of her Manor of A. which she purchased. Now after her death, all her sonnes shall inherite and divide them: But if they come to her by forfeiture in Treason, or by gifte in Parleament, so that her Grace is seized of them in *Iure Coronæ*, then her eldest sonne onely (which shall be King after her) shall enioye them. In which case, although those lands which the eldest sonne (being King) did possesse, doe come to his eldest sonne after him (being King also) and so from one to another, by sundrie discents: Yet the opinion of Sir Anthonie Browne was 7. Elizab. that if at any time after, the same lands be graunted to a common person, they shall revolt to their former nature of Gavelkynde, and be partible amongst his heires males, notwithstanding, that they have runne a contrarie course, in divers the discentes of the Kings before. But much lesse then may the unitie of possession in the Lorde, frustrate the custome of Gavelkynd discent, as it may appeere 14. H. 4. in the long *Recordare*. Onely therefore these two cases I doubt of, concerning this point, and thereupon iudge them meete to be inquired of. That is to say, first, if a tenancie in Gavelkynde eschete to the Lord, by reason of a Ceasser (as heereafter it shall appeere, that it may) or if it be graunted unto the Lorde by the tenant, without any reservation, which Lorde holdeth over by fee of Haubert, or by Serieancie (both which I take to be Knights service) whether now this tenancie be partible amongst the heires males of the Lord or no. For the auncient treatise of the Kentish Customs so determineth, but I wot not whether

Þeaþbeorg, in Saxon, is a high defence: and the customes of Normandie call that fiefe, or fee, de Haubert, which oweth to defend the land by full armes, that is, by horse, haubert, target, sworde, or helme: &

experience so alloweth. The other doubt is this, if it be so that any whole towne, or village in Kent, hath not at any time (that can be shewed) beene acquainted with the exercise of Gavelkynde discent, whether yet the custome of Gavelkynde shall have place there or no. Toward the resolution of which later ambiguitie, it shall tende somewhat to shewe, how farre this custome extendeth it selfe within this our countrey.

it consisteth of 300. acres of land, which is the same (as I suppose) that we called a whole knights fee.

It is commonly taken therefore, that the custome of Gavelkynde is generall, and spreadeth it selfe throughout the whole Shyre, into all landes subiect by auncient tenure unto the same, such places onely excepted, where it is altered by acte of Parleament. And therefore 5. E. 4. 8. and 14. H. 4. 8. it is saide, that the custome of Gavelkynde is (as it were) a common law in Kent. And the book 2. E. 4. 19. affirmeth, that in demaunding Gavelkynde lande, a man shall not neede to prescribe in certaine, and to shew, That the Towne, Borowe, or Citie, where the landes be, is an auncient towne, borowe, or citie, and that the custome hath been there (time out of minde) that the lands within the same towne, borow, or citie, should descend to all the heires males. But that it is sufficiently ynough, to shew the custome at large, and to say, That the lande lieth in Kent, and that all the landes there be of the nature of Gavelkinde.

The custome of Gavelkind is universall in Kent.

For, a Writ of partition of Landes in Gavelkynde (saith Maister Litleton) shall be as generall, as if the lands were at the Common law, although the declaration ought specially to conteine mention of the Custome of the Countrie. This universalitie therefore considered, as also the strait bond (wherby the Custome is so inseparably knit to the land, as in manner

nothing but an acte of Parleament can cleerely dissever them) I see not, how any City, Towne, or Borow, can be exempted, for the onely default of putting the Custome in ure, more than the Eldest Sonne (in the case before) may for the like reason prescribe against his yonger brethren.

This was the resolute and setled opinion, not onely of the best professors and practizers, but also of the Moderne Iustices and Iudges of the Law, at such time as I first published this Customal of our Shyre: and accordingly was this custome of Gavelkynde discent then put in ure, without any reclaime in the Countrie, as a great many yet alive can testifie with me.

Howbeit, knowing that of latter yeers there hath beene some strong opposition, and seeing that now at this day some doe incline, and others doe stagger therein, I hold it necessarie, to let the reader knowe, both what they say, and what I reade, that may enforme his understanding in that point also.

"Graunting therefore (say they) that all the lands "of Gavelkynde nature be of the Tenure in Socage: "yet is it not therefore to be graunted, that on the "other side, that all the landes of Socage Tenure be "of the nature of Gavelkynde. For, as there be two "sortes of Socage, the one Free, the other Base, So "is the nature of their Discent divers also: the Free "Socage descending to the eldest alone, the Base fall-"ing in division betweene him and all his Brethren."

Socage, of two sorts.

This distinction and difference of Tenure and Discent, they faile not to iustifie by a great number of Inquisitions, remaining of Recorde in the Tower of London, whereof my loving friend, Master Michael Henneage (the worthy keeper of them) hath shewed

sundrie unto my selfe. Amongst them all, one hath fallen into my handes, whereof bothe this and further use may be made, and to that end I will exemplifie it unto you, as it lieth before me.

Ex Bundello Eschaet. de Anno Primo Edwardi tertii.

Inquisitio facta apud Thonebregge, coram Eschaetore Domini Regis, in Comitatu Kanc, xxv. die Februarii, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum primo, Per sacramentum Ioannis Pieres, Thom. Grigory, Richardi de Clyve, Thom. Polteman, Alexandri at Bourne, Martin. Prikell, Walteri Partriche, Thom. de Beltring, Wilhelmi Flishert, Daniel de Ryddenne, Thom. at Longebroke, et Clementis de Prikel: Qui dicunt per Sacramentum suum, quod Walterus Colpeper (qui obiit tempore Domini nuper Regis Angliæ patris Domini Regis nunc) tenuit Coniunctim cum Iohanna uxore eius die quo obiit in villis de Langelegh et Bokton Monchency in eodem comitatu, Langley & Boughton. *Duas partes unius Mesuagii, unius carucat. terr. quindecem solidorum annui redditus, et redditus quindecem gallinarum et quinquaginta ovorum, de Agnete Domina de Leybourne per servicium unius paris Calcarium, vel trium Denariorum per Annum pro omni servicio: Et dicunt quod prædict. Duæ partes valent per Annum in omnibus exitibus xxxiiii.s. iiii.d. Item dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde in dominico suo ut de Feodo die quo obiit quedam tenementa in E. Farlegh in eodem comitatu de Priore Ecclesiæ Chricti Cantuariæ per servicium xx.s. per Annum, et faciend. sectam ad Curiam dicti Prioris de E. Farlegh, de tribus septimanis, in tres septimanas.* East Farleigh.

Et dicunt quod sunt ibi unum capitale Mesuagium, lxx. acr. terr. arabilis quæ valent per annum in omnibus exitibus xxxv.s. Item sunt ibi redditus per Annum xxx.s. ad quatuor terminos principales solvend. Item sunt ibi de redditu ad terminum dictum xii. gallinæ, quæ valent per annum xviii.d. Item dicunt quod idem Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde, in Dominico suo ut de feodo die prædicto v.s. redditus, et redditus ii. gallinarum, prec. iii.d. in West Farlegh in eodem comitatu, de prædicto Priore per servicium prædict. Item, dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde die quo obiit in villa de Elding in eodem comitatu quendam annuum Redditum, unius galli et xiii. gallinarum quæ valent per Annum xix.d. de Hugone Dandele, absque aliquo servicio inde faciend. Item dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde in dominico suo ut de feodo die quo obiit unum Mesuagium in villa de Malling, quod valet per annum ii.s. iiii.d. de Wilhelmo Large per servicium ii.d. per Annum. Item dicunt quod prædict. Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde die quo obiit quædem tenementa in villa de Brenchesley, vocat. Marescales de Domino Hugone de Audele, ut de honore de Thonebregge, per servicium reddend. ad lardarium dicti Hugonis viii. porc, et dimid. ad Festum Omnium Sanctorum per annum prec. xv.s. Et de Wilhelmo de Ore milite, per servicium v.s. ix.d. per annum. Et dicunt quod sunt ibidem in eisdem tenementis unum Mesuagium nullius valoris ultra repric, lxxx. acre terr. arabilis quæ valent per annum xx.s. prec. acr. iii.s. iii.d. xx. acr. pasturæ, quæ valent per annum xx.d. prec. acr. i.d. xiiii. acr. prati, quæ valent per annum iiii.s. viii.d. prec. acr. iiii.d.. Item tenuit ibidem in Gavelkinde xviii. acras

West Farleigh.

Yealding.

Malling.

Brencheley.

Tunbridge

terræ arabilis quas adquisiuit de Matil Salmon, quæ valent per annum iiii.s. vi.d. prec. acr. iii.d. De Galfrido atte Holedene per servitium v.s. per annum. Item tenuit in Gavelkind in eadem villa de Brenchesle, die quo obiit ix. acras terræ arabilis, quæ valent per annum ii.s. iii.d. prec. acr. iii.d. De Richardo de Sheyselle, per servicium iiii.d. per annum pro omni servicio: Item dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde die quo obiit, quædam tenementa in villa de Est Pecham, in eodem comitatu de Iohanne de la Chekere, ut de Manerio suo de Adynton per survicium i.d. per annum, pro omni servicio, et reddendo per annum Domino de Cosinton vii.s. Et sunt in eisdem tenementis, unum Mesuagium nullius valoris ultra reprisas, xxvii. acr. terræ arabilis, quæ valent per annum ix.s. iiii.d. prec. acr. iiii.d. ii. acr. prati qui valent per annum xx.d. prec. acr. x.d. Item tenuit coniunctim cum Iohanna uxore eius in liberum Feodum in Shybourne in eodem comitatu quendam annuum redditum xxvi.s. et unius galli prec. i.d. et iii. gallinarum, prec. iiii.d. ob. De Rogero Bavent absque aliquo servicio inde faciend. Item dicunt quod Thomas Colpeper filius prædicti Walteri quoad liberum feodum est eius heres propinquior et xx. annorum et amplius: Et quoad tenementa in Gavelkinde, prædictus Thomas, Galfridus, et Iohannes fratres eiusdem Thomæ sunt heredes ipsius Walteri propinquiores. Et prædictus Galfridus est ætatis decem annorum, et Iohannes est ætatis ix. annorum. In cuius rei Testimonium prædicti Iuratores huic Inquisitioni sigilla sua apposuerunt.

East Peckam.

Liberum feodum. Shirborne.

To this, I thinke it agreeable, to adioine, what I reade first in the Booke, commonly ascribed to Glan-

ville, and then in the Woorke of Master Bracton also.

Si quis (saith Glanville fol. 46.) *hæreditatem habens, moriatur, et plures reliquerit filios, tunc distinguitur utrum ille fuerit Miles (sive per feodum militare tenens) aut liber Socmannus: Quia si Miles fuerit (vel per militiam tenens) tunc secuudum ius Regni Angliæ primogenitus filius patri succedet in totum, ita quod nullus fratrum suorum partem inde de iure petere potest. Si vero fuerit liber Socmannus, tunc quidem dividetur hæreditas inter omnes filios (quotquot sunt) per partes æquales, si fuerit Socagium, et id antiquitus divisum: Si vero non fuerit antiquitus divisum, tunc primogenitus (secundum quorundam consuetudinem) totam hæreditatem obtinebit: secundum autem quorundam consuetudinem, postnatus filius hæres est.*

To the like intent, and almost in the like words, writeth Master Bracton, fol. 75.

Si liber Socmannus moriatur, pluribus relictis hæredibus et participibus, si hæreditas partibilis sit et ab antiquo divisa, hæredes (quotquot erunt) habeant partes suas æquales. Si autem non fuerit hæreditas ab antiquo divisa, tunc tota remaneat primogenito. Si autem fuerit Socagium villanum, tunc consuetudo loci erit observanda. Est enim consuetudo in quibusdam partibus, quod postnatus præfertur primogenito, et è contrà.

And that you may knowe, what he meaneth by Socagium villanum, take these his woords (fol. 77.)

Tenementum aliud dicitur per Servitium Militare, aliud per Serieantiam: Et de hiis Homagium faciendum est. Aliud tenetur in libero Socagio, ubi fit servitium in denariis: aliud in Socagio villano: Et in hiis fidelitatis sacramentum requiritur.

It seemeth plaine, by this Harmonie of these Writers, that in Socage lande, (whether free, or base) the division of the inheritance stoode wholy upon the practize of the Custome: So as, no Gavelkinde partition could be challenged, but onely, where the custome of Division had prevailed. And likewise, this Inquisition (found after the death of Walter Colpeper) most cleerely distinguisheth free Socage from the Gavelkinde: but yet mainteineth not Bractons difference of them, by which the one should consist of money, and the other of base services, which were called *Manu opera.* For, in this Inquisition some lands are denoted to be of Gavelkinde nature, which nevertheless doe yeelde none other but money alone; So as thereby also, it seemeth, that Gavelkynde was not tried by the manner of the Socage services, but only by the touch of some former partition. Yea, the very Customall of Gavelkinde it selfe useth never a woord of Socage tenure, but of Gavelkynders, tenants in Gavelkynd, tenements of Gavelkynde, heritage in Gavelkynd, and such like.

How befalleth it then (may a man well say) that this severance of Socage tenure, holding force in the time of King Henry the second when Glanville lived, and so downward till the daies, not onely of King Edward the third (as this Inquisition bewraieth) but sundrie yeeres after his reigne also (as many other the like offices do convince) shoulde thus growe into disuse and oblivion, so as the way hath beene opened to that universalitie, by which all Socage service was clothed with the apparell of Gavelkynde; To say what I thinke, I must say, that this latter declination from that elder usage, was not any chaunge at all, but

rather a restitution of the first custome, and a recourse to the right Originall. For, by the Custome of Normannie, from whence we receaved our Gavelkynde, by the deliverie of Odo (Earle of Kent, and bastarde brother to King William the Conquerour) the landes there be of two like sundry discents and natures, as be our Knights service and Socage, whereof the first they call Fife de Heaubert, that descendeth to the eldest sonne onely, the other they terme Fife de roturier (the plowmans fee) which falleth upon all the Sons togither, without any distinction of Free, or Base. I suppose moreover, that the sundrie favours of our Gavelkynde custome enticed many to creepe into it, and by one and one (upon occasion of the intestine troubles that ensued the deprivation of King Richarde the second) to shrowde and cover themselves under the safetie and shadowe of the privileges that do waite upon it, as not to forfeite landes for Felonie, not to be subiect to services before the Iustices, not to be challenged for villanies, and many others that landes of other nature did not afoorde.

By these meanes (as I gesse) the custome was spred, and growne to such generalitie, that the statute (made 18. H. 6. cap. 3.) taketh knowledge, that "There were "not at that day within the Shyre above 40. persons "at the most, which had lands to the yeerely value of "xx. pounds without the tenure of Gavelkynde; and "that the greater partie of this Countrie, or well nigh "all, was then within that Tenure."

Thus much I had to say of this matter Academically, and without taking any part, leaving to the consideration of the learned and Iudiciall sort, whether it be now more tolerable, that the country be yet lulled

asleepe in this Error (if it be any) or otherwise to awake so many questions, and to moove so many Suites (as will ensue) of the contrarie.

The reason of Gavelkynde Custome.

But here, before I conclude this part, I thinke good, first to make Maister Litletons answere to such as happily will demaund, what reason this custome, of Gavelkinde discent hath, thus to divide land amongst all the Males, contrarie to the manner of the whole Realme besides. The younger sonnes (saith he) be as good gentlemen, as the Elder, and they (being alike deare to their common auncestor, from whom they claime) have so much the more neede of their friends helpe, as (through their minoritie) they be lesse able then the Elder Brother to helpe themselves: secondly to put you in remembrance also of the statute of *Prærogativa Regis, Ca.* 16. Where it is saide, that *Fæminæ non participabunt cum Masculis,* The Females, shall not divide with the Males, which is to be understoode, of such as be in equall degree of kinred, as Brother and Sisters, &c. But if a man have issue three Sonnes, and the Eldest have issue a daughter, and die in the life of his Father, and the Father dyeth: In this case (it is holden) that the daughter shall ioine with the two other Brethren her Uncles, for that she is not in equall degree with them, as her Father was, whose heire she neverthelesse must be of necessitie.

What thinges shal ensue the nature of the land.

And nowe, thus much being spoken, touching the name, tenure, nature, generality, necessity, reason, and order of Gavelkind, it is woorthie the labour, to shew of what qualitie the Rents, Remainders, Conditions, Vouchers, Actions, and such other things (of the which some be issuing out of these landes, some be annexed unto them, and some be raised by reason

of them) shall be. In which behalfe, it may generally be saide, that some of them shall ensue the nature of the Lande, and some shall keepe the same course that common Law hath appointed. But in particular, it is to be understoode, that if a Rent be graunted in Fee out of Gavelkinde land, it shall descende to all the males, as the land it selfe shall doe, as Fitzherbert helde, against the opinion of Shelley, who mainteined that the Custome extended, not to rentes, but to landes onely.

Rent.

Vide collect. Dyar, fol. 5.

And, Ald. and Chart. in 7. E. 3. were of opinion, that albeit a tenancie be of Gavelkynde nature, yet the rent service, by which that tenancie is holden, might well be descendable at the common Lawe.

The like shall be of a Remainder of Gavelkynd land: for if it be tailed to the Heires Males, they altogither shall inherite it, as Fitzherbert and Norwiche two Iustices, thought. 26. H. 8. 8. But that is to be understoode of a discent only: for if lands of Gavelkinde nature be leassed for life, the Remainder to the right Heires of I. at Stile, Which hath issue foure sonnes and dieth, and after the Leassee for life dieth, now the Eldest Sonne onely of I. at Stile shall have this land, for he is right Heire, and that is a good name of purchase, 37. H. 8. Done. 42. en Maister Brooke: But if the lands had beene Devised to I. at Stile for life, the remainder to his next Heire Male, this had beene in the opinion of some an estate taile in I. S. himselfe, and then the Land (as I take it) should have descended to al his Sonnes, in so much as in that case the woordes (Next Heire Male) be not a name of purchase, but of limitation.

Remainder.

Howbeit, it was greatly doubted 3. and 4. Philip.

and Mariæ (as Iustice Dalison reporteth) if Lande in Gavelkinde be devised by Testament to S. for life, the remainder *(proximo hæredi masculo de corpore eius procreato,* and the devisee hath divers sonnes) whether in that case the Eldest Brother only shall have it, in so much as (in the understanding of the Law, which is a Iudge over all Customes) he is the next Heire Male: and therefore inquire of it.

As touching Vouchers, it appeereth 11. E. 3. that all the Heires in Gavelkinde shall be vouched for the warrantie of their auncestour, and not the eldest onely. But the opinion of Maister Litleton, and of the Iustices. 22. E. 4. is cleerely: that the Eldest Sonne onely shall be rebutted, or barred, by the warrantie of the auncestour. To be short, the Eldest Son only shall enter for the breach of a condition: but the rest of the Brethren shall be ioyned with him in suing a Writ of Attaint, to reforme a false verdite, or in errour to reverse a iudgement: And they all shall be charged for the debt of their auncestour, if so be that they all have Assetz in their handes: But if the eldest onely have Assetz remaining, and the residue have aliened their parts, then he onely shall bee charged after the minde of the Booke. 11. E. 3. Fitz. Det. 7. And this also for this part, at this time shall suffice.

Voucher.

Condition.

Attaint, & Error.

Now a woorde or twaine, touching the triall of right in this Gavelkinde land, and then forward to the rest of my purpose. There be at the common Lawe, two sorts of triall in a Writ of Right, by Battaile, and by the Graund Assize: of the which two, this Custome excludeth the one, and altereth the other. For, Battaile it admitteth not at all, and the graund Assize it receiveth, not by the election of foure Knightes, but

No Battaile nor graund Assize in Gavelkinde.

of foure Tenants in Gavelkinde, as it may be read in the auncient Treatise of the Customes of this Countrie. But when I speake of the Treatise of the Customes (you must knowe) I meane not that which was lately imprinted, but another with much more faith and diligence long since exemplified: a Copie whereof you shall finde, at the ende of this Booke.

For, not onely in this part, the woordes *(Ne soient prises per battail)* be cleane omitted in the imprinted Booke, but in sundry other places also the woordes be mangled, the sentences be curtailed, and the meaning is obscured, as by conference of the variations, it may to any skilfull reader most easily appeere. But all that, I will referre to the sight and iudgement of such, as will search and examine it, and (returning to my purpose) shewe you, what belongeth to the Lord of this Gavelkinde land, by reason of this Custome. And, for bicause the Prince is chiefe Lorde of all the Realme (as of whom all lands within the same be either mediately or immediately holden) let us first see what right (by reason of this custome) belongeth unto him.

Forfaiture in Felonie.

If Tenant in Fee simple, of Landes in Gavelkinde, commit fellonie, and suffer the iudgement of death therefore, the Prince shall have all his Chattels for a forfaiture: But as touching the Lande, he shall neither have the Eschete of it, though it be immediately holden of himselfe, nor the Day, Yeere and Waste, if it be holden of any other. For in that case, the Heire, notwithstanding the offence of his auncestour, shall enter immediately, and enioy the landes, after the same Customes and services, by which they were before holden: in assurance whereof, it is commonly said,

The Father to the Boughe,
The Sonne to the Ploughe.

But this rule holdeth in case of Felonie, and of murder onely, and not in case of treason at all: nor (peradventure) in Piracie, and other Felonies made by Statutes of later times, bicause the Custome cannot take holde of that, which then was not at all. It holdeth moreover, in case where the offender is iusticed by order of Lawe, and not where hee withdraweth himselfe after the fault committed, and will not abide his lawfull triall.

For if such a one absent himselfe (after proclamation made for him in the Countie) and be outlawed: or otherwise, if he take Sanctuarie, and do abiure the Realme, then shall his Heire reape no benefite by this Custome, but the Prince or the Lorde, shall take their forfaiture in such degree, as if the Landes were at the common law. Which thing is apparant, both by the Booke 8. Edward 2. abridged by Maister Fitzherbert, in his title of prescription. 50. And by 22. Edward 3. fol. Where it is saide, that this Custome shall not be construed by equitie: but, by a straight and literall interpretation. And also by the plaine rehersall of the saide treatise of the Customes it selfe. And in this behalfe also, some have doubted, whether the Brother or Uncle shall have the advantage of this Custome: But, seeing that the woordes of our Customal extend to the Heire, and be not restrained to the Sonne, they bee aunswered, and we may proceede.

Duties, of the Tenant, to his Lord.

There belongeth moreover, due by the Tenant, to each common person, being his Lorde of Lande in Gavelkinde, Suite to his Court, the othe of fidelitie,

and the true doing and paiment, of all accustomed Rents, Duties, and Services. Also if the Tenant die, leaving his heire, within the age of fifteene yeeres: the Lord hath authoritie to commit the nouriture of the body, and the custodie of the goods, and lands of the infant, to the next of the kinred, to whome the inheritance cannot descende. But, as neither the Lorde ought to take any thing for the custodie, neither to tender to the Heire any marriage at all: So must he take good heede, that he credite not the custodie to any person, that shall not be able to answere therefore. For if the Heire, at his full age of fifteene yeeres, shall come to the Lordes Court, and demaund his inheritance, although the Lorde may distreine the Gardein to yeelde his accompt (as it appeereth. 18. E. 2. Avowrie 220.) Yet in default of his ability, the Lorde himselfe, and his Heires, remaine charged to the Heire for the same. For which onely feare (as I thinke) the Lordes at these daies do not enterpose themselves in this business.

Furthermore, if the Tenant shall withdrawe from the Lord his due rents, and services, the Custome of this Countrie giveth to the Lord, a speciall, and solemne kinde of Cessavit, and that after this manner.

Cessavit, in Gavelkinde.

The Lord, after such a Cessing, ought by award of his three weekes Court, to seeke (from Court to Court, untill the fourth Court) in the presence of good witnes, whether any distresse may be found upon the Tenement, or No: And if he can finde none, then at the fourth Court it shal be awarded, that he shall take the Tenement into his handes, as a distresse, or pledge for the Rent and services, withdrawne, and that he shall deteine it one yeere and a day, without manuring

it: within which time, if the Tenant come, and make agreement with the Lord for his arrerage, he shall enter into his Tenement againe: but if he come not within that space, then at the next Countie Court the Lorde ought openly to declare all that his former proceeding, to the end that it may be notorious: which being done, at his owne Court, next following the said Countie, it shall be finally awarded, that hee may enter into that Tenement, and manure it as his proper demeane.

And that the forfaiture due to the Lord for this Ceasser of his Tenant, was five poundes (at the least) besides the arrerages: it doth well appeere by the olde Kentish bywoorde, recited in the often remembred Treatise of these Customes.

Neg he syth seald and Neg he syth geld.
And five pound for the were, er he become healder.

That is to say, Hath he not since any thing given? nor hath he not since any thing paide? Then let him pay five pounde for his were, before he become tenant, or holder againe: But some copies have the first verse thus.

Nigond sithe seld, and nigon sithe gelde: That is, Let him nine times pay, and nine times re-pay. And here (by the way) it is to be noted, that this woorde (were) in olde time signified, the value, or price of a mans life, estimation, or countenance: For, before the Conquest, each man in the Realme was valued at a certaine summe of money, having regarde to his degree, condition, and woorthinesse, as is more at large shewed in the Table to the translation of the Saxon

Were, is the price of a mans life.

Lawes, whereunto for this purpose I will send you. This custome of Cessavit, is set foorth in the treatise of Customes, and hath beene allowed of (as Maister Frowike 21. H. 7. 15. reported) in time passed, but whether it be also at this day put in ure, I cannot certainly affirme.

But now, as these advantages arise to the Lord from his Tenant: So on the other side, the Lord also ought to suffer his Tenant to enioy the benefite of such customes as make for his availe. And therefore, first he ought to let him alien his lande at his owne pleasure, without suing to him for licence: He ought also to be contented with one suite to his Court for one Tenement, although the same happen to be divided amongst many: of very right also he ought to admit an Essoine, if any be cast for the Tenant, whether it be in a cause of Plaint, or for common suite to his Court: And lastly, he may not exact of him any maner of oth, other than that of Fidelitie, which groweth due by reason of his Tenure.

Tenant by the Courtesie.

And thus leaving the Lord and his Tenant, let us come to the husband and the wife, and first shew what courtesie the husband shall finde by order of this custome after the death of his wife that was seized of landes of Gavelkinde tenure: and then what benefite the wife may have after the decease of her Husband dying seased of Lands of the same kinde and nature.

The Husband (saith our treatise of Gavelkinde Custome) shall have the one halfe of such Gavelkinde lande, wherein his wife had estate of inheritance, whether he had issue by her or no: And shall holde the same during so long time, as he will keepe himselfe widower, and unmarried. For if he marrie, he looseth

all. Neither may he commit any waste, more than Tenant by the courtesie at the common lawe, may. So that one way (namely, in that he shall have his wives lande for life though he never had issue by her) this our Custome is more courteous than the common lawe: but another way (I meane in that he shall have but the one halfe, and that with a prohibition of second marriage) it is lesse beneficiall. Howsoever it be, it holdeth place, and is put in practise at this day.

Tenant in Dower, The difference betweene common Lawe, and Custome therein.

The wife likewise, after the death of her Husband, shall have for her life, the one moitie of all such lands of Gavelkinde tenure, whereof her Husband was seised of any estate of inheritance during the coverture betweene them. Of which Custome also, though it exceede common measure, the common lawe of the Realme (bearing alwaies speciall favour to Dower) hath evermore even hitherto shewed good allowance: Neverthelesse, as tenant by the courtesie after this custome, had his conditions annexed: so tenant in Dower, by the same Custome, wanteth not some conditions waiting upon her estate. One, that she may not marrie at all: and another, that she must take diligent heede, that shee be not found with childe, begotten in fornication. For in either case she must loose her Dower: But yet so, that lawfull matrimonie is by a meane (contrarie to the Apostolique permission) utterly forbidden, and the sinne of secret Lecherie (according to the Popish Paradoxe, *Si non castè tamen cautè*) is in a sort borne and abidden, Seeing that by this custome, she forfeiteth not in this later case, unlesse the childe be borne, and heard to crie, and that of the countrie people, assembled by hue and crie: For then (saith the Custome)

Se that his wende,
Se his lende:

But corruptly, for in true Saxon letters it standeth thus,

Se þat Þire pende.
Se Þire lende.

That is to say,

He that doth turne, or wende her:
Let him also give unto her, or lende her.

And thus the custome, making like estimation of both the cases, depriveth her of her living, no lesse for honest marriage, than for filthie fornication. In which behalfe, as I must needes confesse, that the later condition hath reason, bicause it tendeth (though not fully) to the correction of sinne and wickednesse: So yet dare I affirme, that the former is not onely not reasonable, but meerely lewde and irreligious also.

Single life, much magnified.

For, although the Ethnickes did so much magnifie widowhood, that (as Valerius reciteth) *Fœminas, quæ uno matrimonio contentæ erant, corona pudicitiæ honorabant,* and although that the common Lawe also (being directed by the Popish Clergie, which therein followed the errour of Ierome) doth in another case, by the name of Bigamie, dislike of a womans second marriage: Yet Saint Paule saith plainly, *Mulier, si dormierit maritus eius, libera est, ut cui vult nubat, modò in Domino.* But for all this, seeing that our treatise of usages reciteth it, seeing also that common experience of the countrie approoveth it, and that the common lawe of the Realme (as it may be read, *Prærogativa Regis cap.* 16. *et* 2. H. 3. *in Præscription.*

59.) admitteth it: let us also for this place and purpose, be contented to number it amongst our customes, and so proceede with the residue.

It appeereth, by that which is already said, that the common lawe, and this custome, differ in two things concerning Dower: One, in that the common lawe giveth but a third part, whereas the custome vouchsafeth the halfe: Another, in that this custome giveth conditionally, whereas the gift of the common law, is free and absolute. Now, therefore, there remaine to be shewed, certaine other pointes, wherein they varie also. As, if the husband commit felonie: at the common Lawe, his wife hath lost her title of Dower, but by the custome of this countrie, she shall not loose her Dower for the fault of her husband, but onely in such case, where the heire shall loose his inheritance, for the offence of his father. Which thing is manifest, both by the treatise of our Kentish customes, and by the opinion of the Court 8. H. 3. Præscription. 60. At the common lawe also, the wife shall be endowed of a possession in law, but (as me thinketh) she shall have no Dower by this custome, but onely of such lands, whereof her husband was actually and really seised. For the woordes be *(Des tenements, dount son Baron morust seisei, et vestu.)* which woord *(vestu)* being cleane omitted in the imprinted booke, inforceth a possession in deede, and not in law onely. And therefore, if landes in Gavelkinde descende to a married man, which dieth before he make his entrie into the same, inquire whether it be the manner to endowe his wife thereof, or no: for use is the onely Oracle that in this case I can sende you unto. Againe, it may seeme, that the conditions laide upon the Dower, do

Differences betweene the common law, and this custome, for Dower.

runne onely to those lands whereof he died seised: and that of such as he aliened, she is at libertie both for demaunde of Dower at the common lawe, and otherwise.

Moreover, at the common lawe, a woman shall be endowed of a faire, or bailywike, or of any such other profite. But (for as much as the wordes of this customarie Dower, be *(terres et tenements)* and for that all customs shal finde a literal and streight interpretation) the opinion of Maister Parkins is, that no Dower lieth of a faire, &c. by this custome, unlesse it be appendant to lande. Furthermore, if the wife recover her Dower at the common law, she ought of necessitie to be endowed by metes and bounds: But in Dower after this Custome (saith the same Authour) she may very well be endowed of a moitie, to be holden in common with the heire, that enioieth the other halfe. Lastly, this custome, besides Dower of the one halfe of the husbandes lande, provideth Dower of the moitie of suche goods also, as he died possessed of, if he had no children, and of the third part, though he leave issue: whereas the common lawe (at the least in common practise at this day) hath no consideration of any such endowment. These then be the differences, betweene the common lawe of the Realme, and the particular custome of this countrie concerning Dower: the comparison whereof, and whether sort of Dower is more beneficiall, I will not now attempt, and much lesse take upon me, to determine, least I my selfe might seeme rashly to preiudicate in another thing, wherein I most gladly desire to be iudged by other men: namely, whether a woman, intituled to Dower in Gavelkinde, may wayve her Dower of the moity

Dower of Chattels.

after this custome, and bring her action to be endowed of the thirde at the common lawe, and so exempt her selfe from all danger of these customarie conditions, or no? The resolution of which doubt, wil depend partly upon comparison, whether it be more advantage to her, to have the thirde at the common lawe absolutely, or the moitie by the custome conditionally? For if the Dower at the common law be better for her, then it seemeth reasonable that she should stand to the worse, which is the custome: even as tenant by the curtesie, must take the moitie that the custome giveth, and not aske the whole, as common lawe appointeth. And yet thereto it may be replied, that the cases be not like: for so much as that of Dower is much more to be favoured. I my selfe once heard two reverend Iudges, of opinion, that the woman was at libertie, to aske her Dower of the Third, or of the Moitie: But bicause it was uttered by them in a passage of sudden speech, and not spoken upon studied argument, I will not use the authoritie of their names, to encounter the opinion of the Court 2. E. 4. 19. onely this I repeate (and that with Maister Bracton) that if she marrie before Dower assigned, she is not afterwarde to be endowed.

The childe and the gardian.

After the husband and the wife, there followeth next in order of our division, the Childe and his Gardian, whom also (since they be Relatives, as the other be, and that their interestes carrie a mutuall, and Reciproque eie, each having respect to other) we will likewise couple together in one treatise. And bicause the custome was woont to commit the custodie, not of the landes onely (as the common lawe doth) but of the goods and chattels also, we will first shew, what por-

tion of goods did growe to the childe, by the death of his parent.

Partition of chattels.

The manner of this countrie sometime was (as it appeereth by our olde treatise) that after the funeralls of the dead man perfourmed, and his debts discharged, the goodes should be divided into three equall portions, if he left any lawfull issue behinde him: of which three, one part was alotted to the dead, for performance of his legacies: another to the children (that were not his heires, nor advaunced) for their education: and the thirde to the wife for her sustentation and maintenance: But if he had no children left on live, then was the division into two partes onely: of which, the one belonged to the wife for her endowment, and the other to her departed husband, to be bestowed by his executors, if he made a testament, or by the discretion of the ordinarie, if he died intestate. To this effect soundeth the recorde (claus. 9. H. 3. memb. 13.) where it is saide thus: *Rex mandavit vicecomiti Kanciæ, quod omnia Catallia quæ fuerunt Roberti Nereford in Heyham, Borham, &c. faceret esse in pace donec sciatur, utrum filius et hæres dicti Roberti ea habere debeat, aut alii pueri dicti Roberti unà cum eo, vel sine eo.*

London.

The selfe same order is at this day observed in the Citie of London, and the same in effect, was long since used throughout the whole realme. For it is evident, both by the lawe of King Canutus before remembred, by Maister Glanville in his booke Cap. 18. and by the woordes of Magna Carta, that the wife and children had their reasonable partes of the goods by the common lawe of the Realme, howsoever it came to passe at the length, that it was admitted for lawe but in such

countries only, where it was continued by daily usage (as it is holden 17. E. 2. and in many other bookes) and that all the Writs in the Register *De rationabili parte bonorum*, have now mention of the special Custome of the Shyre, in which the part is demaunded. But as in deede at this day, partition of Chattels is not used (though in the meane time it hath not lost the force of common law as many thinke) throughout the whole Realme: so is it (so far as I can learne) vanished quite out of all ure within this Countrie also. And therefore, seeing the Gardian is delivered of this charge, wee also will leave to speake further of the goods, and come to the partition and custodie of the land of this Infant.

Partition, of Gavelkinde lands.

If a man die seised of landes in Gavelkinde, of any estate of inheritance, all his Sonnes shal have equall portion: and if he have no Sonnes, then ought it equally to be divided amongst his daughters: But yet so, that the Eldest Sonne or Daughter, hath by the Custome a pre-eminence of election, and the youngest Sonne or Daughter, a preferment in the partition. For as of ancient time, there ought to be graunted to the eldest, the first choice after the division: so to the part of the yoongest, there ought to be allotted in the division, that piece of the Mesuage, which our treatise calleth Astre, that is to say, the stocke, harth, or chimney, for fire: which woord (as I thinke) was derived of the Latine *Astrum*, a starre, bicause the fire shineth in the house, as the Starre thereof: and which, though it be not now commonly understood in Kent; yet do they of Shropshyre and other parts reteine it in the same signification till this day, even as the first case (23. lib. Assis.) doth interpret it. I knowe, that

Astre.

Master Bracton in the place before cited, writeth that the eldest ought to have the Capitall Messuage: But at this day there is no regarde of either in making the partition: onely consideration is had that the partes be equall and indifferent.

Gardein by this custome.

Now therefore, if the Childe be under the age of fifteene yeeres, the next Cousin to whom the inheritance may not descend, shall (by appointment of the Lord if divers be in equall degree of kinred) have the education, and order of his bodie, and landes, untill such time as he shall attaine to that age: even as the Gardein in Socage at the common Lawe shall keepe his, untill the warde aspire to foureteene. And in all other things also, this customarie Gardein is to be charged and to have allowance, in such sort, and none other, than as the Gardein in Socage at the common lawe is: Save onely (as it is partly remembred already) that he is both chargeable to the Heire in accompt for his receipt, and subiect also to the distresse of the Lorde for the same cause: Yet do I not heare, that the Lordes take upon them (at this day) to commit the custodie of these Infants, but that they leave it altogether to the order of the common lawe, the rather (belike) for that they themselves (if they intermedle) stand chargeable (as I saide) in default of the abilitie of such as happily they might credit therewithall: Even as by Iustinians ordinaunce, such as appoint Dative tutours, must do it at their owne perils. So that upon the whole matter, the oddes consisteth onely in this, that Gardein in Socage at the common Lawe shall keepe the land till the Infant be fourteene yeeres of age, and Gardein by this custome till he have attained fully fifteene: which diversitie, ariseth not

Sale, at fifteenyeeres of age.

without great reason: For whereas the Infant in Socage at the common law, cannot make alienation of his lande untill he have reached to the full age of one and twenty yeeres (although he be long before that, free from al wardship.) The infant in Socage by this Custome, may give and sell his land so soon as he is crept out of this Custodie.

And therefore it was expedient to adde one yeere (at the least) to the common Law, before he should be of power to depart with his inheritance, which otherwise (being unadvisedly made away) might woorke his owne impoverishment and overthrowe. And truly it seemeth to me, that the Custome it selfe hath a watchfull eie upon the same matter, in so much as it licenceth him at fifteene yeeres, Not to give his Lande (for that he might doe for nothing) But to give and sell his land, which it meaneth he should not doe without sufficient recompence. Such like interpretation, the common Lawe also seemeth to make of this custome both by the opinion of Vavasor. 5. H. 7. who said, that it was adiudged that a release made by such an Infant was voide: by the sentence of the Booke. 21. Ed. 4. 24. where it was saide, that an Infant cannot declare his will upon such a Feoffment: and by the iudgement of Hank. 11. H. 4. who also helde, that a warrantie, or graunt of a reversion made at such age, was to no purpose at all, although a lease with release might happily be good by the Custome, bicause that amounteth to a Feoffment. And in my simple iudgement, it is not fit that this Custome should be construed by equitie, for as much as it standeth not with any equitie, to enable an Infant, of little discretion, and lesse experience, to sell his lande, and not to provide withall

that hee should have, Quid pro quo, and some reasonable recompence for the same: for that were, not to defend the Pupill and Fatherlesse, but to lay him wide open to everie slie deceipt, and circumvention.

In which respect, I cannot but very well like of their opinion, who hold, that if an Infant in Gavelkinde, at this day will sell at fifteene yeeres of age, these three things ought of necessitie to concurre, if he will have the sale good and effectuall. The first, that he be an Heire, and not a Purchasour, of the lande that he departeth withall: The seconde, that he have recompence for it: And the third, that he doe it with liverie of seison by his owne hande, and not by warrant of Attourney, nor by any other manner of assurance.

And these men for proofe of the first and seconde point of their assertion, doe builde upon the woordes of our written Custome, where it is saide, *Del heure que ceux heirs de Gavelkinde, soient, ou ount passe lage de* 15. *ans, list a eux, lour terres et tenementes, Doner et Vender* in which, the woordes *(Ceux Heires)* doe restraine the Infant that commeth in by Purchase: And *(Doner et Vender)* in the copulative (for so they lie in deede, though the imprinted booke have them disiunctively) doe of necessitie implie a recompence, for as much as, *Vendere*, cannot be *Sine precio.*

And for maintenance of the thirde matter, they have on their part, besides the common usage of their owne Countrie, the common Lawe of the whole Realme also: which expoundeth the woorde *(Doner)* to meane a Feoffment (as I have before shewed) which not onely disalloweth of any gifte made by an Infant, but also punisheth the taker in trespasse, unlesse he have it by liverie from the Infants owne hands.

Thus have I lightly run over such Customes, as by meane of this Gavelkinde tenure doe apperteine, either to the Lorde or the Tenant, the Husband or the Wife, the Childe or the Gardein: To these I will adde (as I promised) confusedly, a few other things, of the which, some belong generally to the Kentishe man throughout the whole Shyre: Some to the inhabitants of some particular quarter of the Countrie: and some to the tenants in Gavelkinde onely, and to none other.

No villains in Kent.

It appeereth, by claime made in our auncient treatise, that the bodies of all Kentish persons be of free condition, which also is confessed to be true 30. E. 1. in the title of Villenage 46. in Fitzherbert: Where it is holden sufficient for a man to avoide the obiection of bondage, to say, that his father was born in the Shyre of Kent: But whether it will serve in that case to say, that himselfe was borne in Kent, I have knowne it (for good reason) doubted.

Apparance.

It seemeth by the same treatise, that such persons as helde none other lande than of Gavelkinde nature, be not bound to appeere (upon Sommons) before the Iustices in Eire, otherwise than by their Borsholder, and foure others of the Borowe, a few places only excepted. The like to this Privilege is inioyed at this day in the Sherifes Lathe, where many whole Borowes be excused by the onely apparance of a Borsholder, and two, foure, or sixe other of the inhabitants.

Commen.

Furthermore, I have read in a case of a written report at large of 16 E. 2. which also is partly abridged by Fitzherbert, in his title of Præscription, that it was tried by verdite, that no man ought to have commen in landes of Gavelkinde, Howbeit, the contrarie is well knowne at this day, and that in many places.

Chase and drive out.

The same booke saith, that the usuage in Gavelkinde is, that a man may lawfully inchase, or drive out into the highway to their adventure, the beasts of any other person, that he shall finde dooing damage in his land, and that he is not compellable to impound them, which custome seemeth to me directly against the rule of the common Lawe, But yet practised it is till this present day.

Attaint.

The Parleament (15 H. 6. 3. which I touched before) mynding to amplifie the Privileges of Gavelkinde, graunted to the Tenants of that lande, exemption in Attaints, in such sort as the inhabitants of ancient demeane, and of the Five Portes had before enioyed: But within three yeeres after (18. H. 6. cap. 2.) upon the complaint of the Countrey (which informed the Parleament house that there was not in the whole Shyre above the number of thirtie or fortie persons, that held to the value of twenty pounde lande, out of Gavelkinde, who in default of others, and by reason of that exemption, were continually molested by returns in Attaints) that Acte was utterly repealed.

Chaunging of waies.

The Statute 4. H. 8. Cap. 6. giveth liberty to everie man, having high way (through his Lande in the Weald) that is worne deepe, and incommodious for passage, to lay out another way, in some such other place of his lande, as shall be thought meete by the view of two Iustices of the Peace, and twelve other men of wisedome and discretion. Finally, the generall Lawe, made 35. H. 8. 17. for the preservation of Coppies woods, thorough out the Realme, maketh plaine exception of al woods within this Weald, unlesse it be of such as be common.

Coppies.

Thus much concerning the Customes of this our

Countrie, I thought good to discourse, not so cunningly (I confesse) as the matter required, nor so amply as the argument would beare (for so to doe, it asketh more art and iudgement, than I have attained) But yet sufficiently (I trust) for understanding the olde treatise that handeleth them, and summarily ynough for comprehending (in manner) whatsoever the common, or Statute Lawe of the Realme hath literally touching them, which is as much as I desired. Now therefore, to the ende that neither any man be further bound to this my discourse upon these Customes, then shall be warranted by the Customes themselves: neither yet the same Customes bee hencefoorth so corruptly caried about, as hitherto they have beene, but that they may at the length be restored to their auncient light and integritie, I will set downe a true and iust transcript of the very text of them, taken out of an auncient and faire written Roll, that was given to me by Maister George Multon my Father in lawe, and which sometime belonged to Baron Hales of this Countrie. I will adioine also, mine owne interpretation in the English, not of any purpose to bind the learned unto it, but of a desire to infourme the unlearned by it.

KENT.

These are the usages, and Customes, the which the
Ces sount les usages, et les custumes, les ques le

comunalty of Kent, claimeth to have in the Tenements
comunaute de Kent, cleiment auer en tenementz

of Gavelkinde, and in the men of Gavelkinde,
de Gavylekende, e en gentz Gavilekendeys,

The wordes betweene the starres, were taken out of another olde copie.

*allowed in Eire before Iohn of Berwike, and his
**allowes en Eire Iohn de Berewike, e ses*

companions, the Iustices in Eire in Kent, the 21. yeere
compagnions, Iustices en Eire, en Kent, le 21. an

of King E. the Sonne of King Henrie.* That is to say,
le Roy Ed. fitz. le Roy Henrie. Cest a scavoir,*

Free men.

that all the bodies of Kentishmen be free, as well as
que toutes les cors de Kenteys seyent frãcz, auxi come

the other free bodies of Englande. And that they
les autres fraũz cors Dengleterre. Et que ilz

Esechator.

ought not the Eschetor of the King to chuse, nor ever
ne duiuent le eschetour le Roy elire, ne unkes

in any time did they: But the King shall take, or
en nul temps ne fesoint, mes le Roy prengne, ou

cause to be taken, such an one as it shall please him,
face prendre, tiel come luy plerra, de

to serve him in that which shall be needfull. And that
ceo qui soit mistier a luy servir. Et quilz

they may their landes and their tenements give and
pusent lour terres et lour tenementz doner et

sell, without licence asked of their Lordes: Saving
vender, saũz conge demaũder a lour seignerages: sauves

Give and sell landes without licence.

unto the Lordes the rents and the services doe out
a seignorages les rentz e les services dues des

of the same tenements. And that all, and every of them,
mesmes le tenementz. Et que touz, e chescun,

may by writ of the king, or by plaint, plede for the
puseit per Brẽ le roy, ou per pleynt, pleder pur lour

Plede, by writte, or pleinte.

obteining of their right, as wel of their Lordes, as of
droit purchaser, auxibien de lour Seignerages, come des

other men. And they claime also, that the com-
autres gentz. Et clament auxi, que la com-

munaltie of Gavelkindmen, which hold none other than
mune de Gavylekendeys, que ne tenent mes que

tenements of Gavelkind nature, ought not to come to
tenemenz Gavylekendeys, ne deivent venir a

the common Summonce of the Eire, but onely by the
la commune Somonse del Eire, mes ke per

Borsholder, and foure men of the Borowe: except the
Borgesaldre, et iiii. homès de la Borghe: hors pris les

Appeere by Borsholder.

townes, which ought to aunswere by twelve men in
villees que deivent responder per xii. hõmes en

No eschete for felonie, but of goods onely.

the Eire. And they claime also, that if any tenant in
le Eire. Et clament auxi, que sil nul tenant en

Gavelkind be attainted of felonie, for the which he
Gavylekend seit atteint de felonie, per que il

suffereth execution of death, the King shall have all his
suffre Iuyse de mort, eit le Roy touz ses

goods, and his heire forthwith after his death shall be
chateux, e son eir meintenant apres sa mort seit

inheritable to all his lands and tenements which he
enherite de touz ses terrres et tenemenz, que il

held in Gavelkinde in fee, and in inheritance: and he
tient en Gavylekende en fee, e en heritage, e

shall hold them by the same services and customes,
les tiendra per mesmes les services et customes,

as his auncestors held them: whereupon it is said in
sicome ses auncestres les tyndrȯt: dont est dist en

Kentish: the father to the boughe, and the sonne to
Kenteis: þe fader to þe boughe, and þe son to

Dower, of the one halfe.

the plough. And if he have a wife, forthwith be she
þe plogh. *Et si il eit femme, meintenant seit*

endowed by the heire (if he be of age) of the one halfe
dowe per le heir, sil seit dage, de la meytie,

of all the lands and tenements which her husband held
de touz les terres e tenemenz que son Baroun tint

of Gavelkind nature in fee: to have and to hold
de Gavylekend en fee: a aver e a tener

according to the forme hereafter declared. And of
solonc la fourme de suthdyte. Et de

such lands the King shall not have the yeere, nor wast,
tiels terres le Roy ne avera An ne wast, mes

but only the goods, as is before said. And if any
tant soulmẽt les chateux, sicome il est avãt dit. Et si

Flying for felonie, causeth forfeiture.

man of Gavelkind, either for felonie, or for suspition
nul Gavylekendeis pur felonie, ou pur Ret

of felonie, withdraw him out of the country, and be
de felonie, se suthrei de la pees, e seit

demaunded in the countie as he ought, and be afterward
en counte demande com il appent, e puis

utlawed: or put himselfe into the holy church, and
utlaghe: ou sil se met en seinte eglise, et

abiure the land and the realme, the King shall have
foriure la terre oue le Reaume, le Roy avera

the yeere and the wast of his landes and of all his
lan e le wast de ces terres, et le touz ses

tenements, together with all his goodes and chattels: *tenemenz, ensemblement oue touz ces chateuz,*

So that after the yeere and the day, the next Lord, *issint quæ apres lan, e le iour, le plus procheyn Seig.*

or Lordes, shall have their Eschetes of those lands *ou Seigneurs, eyent leur eschetes de celes terres*

and tenements, every Lorde that, which is immediatly *e tenemenz, chescun Seigneur ceo, que de luy est tenu*

Partition, amongst the heires males.

holden of him. And they claime also, that if any *sans men. E clament auxi, que si ascun*

tenant in Gavelkinde die, and be an inheritour of *tenant en Gavylekende murt, et seit inherite de*

landes and tenements in Gavelkinde, that all his sons *terres e de tenemenz de Gavylekende, que touz ses fitz*

shall part that inheritance by equall portions. And if *partent cel heritage per ouele porcioun. Et si*

there be no heire male, let the partition be made *nul heir madle ne seit, seit la partye feit*

between the females, even as between brothers. And *entre les females, sicome entres les freres. Et*

let the messuage also be departed between them: but *la mesuage seit autreci entre eux departi, mes*

the harth for fire shall remain to the youngest sonne, The Astre.
le astre demorra al pune,

or daughter: And be the value thereof delivered to
ou al punee, e la value seit de ceo livre a

each of the parceners of that heritage, from xl. feete
chescun des parceners de cel heritage, a xl. pes

from that Astre, if the tenement will so suffer. And
de cel Astre, si le tenement le peut suffrir. E

then let the eldest brother have the first choice, and the
donkz le eyne frere eit la primere electioun, e les

others afterward, according to their degree. Likewise
autres apres per degree. Ensement

of houses which shall be found in such Messuages,
de mesons que serront trovets en tieus mesuages,

let them be departed amongst the heires by equall
seient departye entre les heirs per ouele

portions, that is to weete, by foote if need be, Saving
porcioun, Ceo est asavoir per peies sil est mistier Sauve

the Covert of the Astre, which shall remaine to the Curt, in other copies, but falsely.
le covert del Astre, que remeynt al pune,

yongest son, or daughter, as is before said: So
ou al punee sicome il est avandist, issi que

nevertheles, that the yongest make reasonable amends
nequedont que le pune face renable gre

to his parceners for the part which to them belongeth,
a ces parceners de la partye que a eux appent

by the award of good men. And of the aforesaid tene-
per agard de bone gentz. E des avaunditz tene-

One suite, for all the parceners.

ments, whereof one only suite was wont to be made
menz dont un soule Sute tant soulement soleit

before time, be there not by reason of the partition
estre feit, avaut, ne seit per la resoun de la partye

but one sole suite made, as it was before accustomed:
fors un soule sute faite sicome soleit avant,

But yet let all the parceners make contribution
mes que tous les parceners facent contributioun

to the parcener which maketh the suite for them,
a celui que face la sute pur eux.

Partition of goods.

In like sort let the goods of Gavelkinde persons be
Ensement seient les chateus de Gavylekendeys

parted into three parts, after the funerals and the debts
parties en treis apres le exequies e les dettes

paied, if there be lawfull issue on live: So that the
rendues, si il y eit issue mulier en vye, issi que la

dead have one part, and his lawful sonnes and daughters
mort eyt la une partie, e les fitz e les filles muliers

an other part, and the wife the third part, And if
lautre partie, et la femme la tierce partie Et si

there be no lawfull issue on live, let the dead have the
nul issue mulier en vie ne seit, eit la mort la

one halfe, and the wife on live the other halfe. And if
meite, e la femme en vye lautre meytie. Et si

Custodie of the heire in Gavelkind

the heire, or heires, shall be under the age of 15.
le heir, ou lez heirs, seit, ou seyent de deins le age de xv.

yeers, let the nourtriture of them be committed by the
ans, seit la nouriture de eux baille per le

Lorde, to the next of the bloud to whom the inherit-
Seig. al plus procheyn del sank, a qui heri-

aunce can not descend, So that the Lord take nothing
tage ne peut descendre, issi que le Seign. pur le

for the committing thereof. And let not the heire be
bail rein ne prengne. Et quil ne seit

maried by the Lorde, but by his owne will, and by the
marie per le Seign. mes per sa volunte demeine, et per le

advise of his friends, if he will. And when such heire,
conseil de ces amys sil veut. Et quant cel heir,

or heires, shal come to the full age of fifteene yeeres,
ou ceux heirs sont de plener age de 15. *auns,*

let their landes and tenements be delivered unto them,
seient a eux lour terres, e lour tenemenz livres,

profits
togither with their goods, and with the emprovements
ensemblement oue lour chateaux, et oue les enprowemenz

of the same lands, remaining above their reasonable
de celes terres outre renable

sustenance: of the which profits and goods, let him
sustinance: de quel enprovement, e chateux, seit

be bounde to make aunswere which had the education
tenu a respondre celui qui de luy avera la noriture,

of the heire, or els the Lord, or his heires, which
ou le Seigneur ou ses heires que

committed the same education. And this is to be
cel noriture avera baille. Et ceo fet a

understood, that from such time as those heires in Ga-
savoir que del houre que ceux heirs Ga-

Sale at xv. yeres of age.

velkind, be of, or have passed, the age of fifteene
vylekende seient, ou ount passe le age de xv.

yeeres, it is lawfull for them, their lands or tenements,
auns, list a eux lour terres ou tenemenz

to give and sell at their pleasure: Saving the services
doner e vendre a lour volunte, Sauves les services

to the chiefe Lordes, as is before said. And if any Dower, of the one halfe.
au chefz seignorages, com il est devant dit. Et si nul

such tenant in Gavelkind die, and have a wife that
tiel tenant en Gavylekend meurt, e eit femme que

overliveth him, let that wife by and by be endowed (of
survive seit cele femme meintenant douwe de

the one halfe of the tenements whereof her husbande
la meite des tenementz dont son baroun

died vested and seised) by the heires, if they be of age,
morust vestue seisi, per les heirs sil seient de age,

or by the Lords, if the heires be not of age: So
ou per les Seigneures si les heirs ne seint pas de age, issi

one halfe
that she may have the moitie of those lands and tene-
que ele eyt la meite de celes terres e tene-

ments, to holde so long as she keepeth her a widow, Forfaiture of Dower.
menz, a tener tant com ele se teyent veue,

or shal be attainted of childbirth, after the ancient
ou de enfanter seit atteint per le auncienne

usage: that is to say, that if when she is delivered
usage: ceo est a savoir, que quant ele

of childe, the infant be heard crie, and that the hue and
enfaunte, e lenfant seit oy crier, E que le hu e le

crie be raised, and the countrie be assembled, and
cry seit leve e le pais ensemble, e

have the view of the childe so borne, and of the
eyent weue de lenfant ensi faunte, e de la

mother, then let her loose her Dowre wholy, and
mere, adonks perde son dowere enterement, e

otherwise not, so long as she holdeth her a widow:
autrement nyent, tant come ele se tient veue,

whereof it is said in Kentish: he that doth mende her,
dont il est dist en Kenteis, ꝑe ꝑat ꝑiꝑ pende,

Tenant by the courtesie, of the one halfe.

let him lende her. And they claime also, that if a man
ꝑe ꝑiꝑ lende. *E clament auxi, que homme*

take a wife which hath inheritance of Gavelkind, and
que prent femme, que eit heritage de Gavylekend, e

the wife dieth before him, let the husband have the one
la femme murge avant luy, eit le Baroun le meite

halfe of those lands and tenements whereof she died
de celes terres et tenemenz, tant come il se

seised so long as he holdeth him a widower, without
tient veuers (dont il morust seisei) saunz

doing any strippe, or waste, or banishment, whether
estrepement, ou wast, ou exile fere, le quel

there were issue betweene them or no: And if he take
kil y eit heir entre eux ou noun. Et sil prent

The discent of Gavelkind changed

another wife, let him loose all. And if any tenement
femme, trestout perde. Et si nul tenement

of Gavelkinde do escheate (and that escheate be to
de Gavylekend eschete (et ceo eschete seit a

any Lorde which holdeth by fee of Hawberke, or by
nul Seigneur que tiene per fee de hawberk, ou per

Cessavit

Scricancie) by death, or by Gavelate as is hereafter
seriauncye) per mort, ou per Gavelate si come il est

given up

saide, or be to him rendred by his tenaunt which
suthdite, ou li seit rendu de son tenant que de

before held it of him by quiteclaime thereof made, or
li avant le tynt per quiteclamaũce de ceo fete, ou

if his escheate be by Gavelate as is hereafter saide,
seit sa eschete per Gavelate sicome il est de suthdit

let this land remaine to the heires unpartable: And
remeyne cele terre as heirs impartable. Et

this is to be understood, where the tenant so rendring,
ceo fet asavoir, la ou le tenant ensi rendant,

doth reteine no service to himselfe, but saveth never-
nule service retent deuers sey, savvet neque-

thelesse to the other Lordes their fees, fermes, and the
dent as autres Seigneurages fees, fermes, e les

rents wherewith the aforesaide tenements of Gavelkind
rentes dont les avant diz tenemenz de Gavylekende

(so rendred) were before charged, by him, or them,
ensi rendus avaunt furent charges per ceux, ou per celuy,

Forfaiture by Cessavit or Gavelate.

which might charge them. And they claime also, that
que le charger poent, ou poeyt. E clament auxi, que

withhold
if any tenant in Gavelkinde reteine his rent, and his
si nul tenant en Gavylekende reteine sa rent, e son

services of the tenement which he holdeth of his Lord,
service del tenement quil tient de son Seigneur,

let the Lord seeke by the award of his Court from
quer ge le Seign. per agard de sa court de

three weekes to 3. weekes, to finde some distresse
treys semeynes en treys semeynes truve destresse

upon that tenement, untill the fourth court, alwaies
sur cel tenement tant que a la quart court, a totefet

with witnesses: And if within that time he can finde
per tesmoynage, Et si dedens cel temps ne trusse

no distresse in that tenement, whereby he may have
destresse en cel tenement per queux il puisse

iustice of his tenant, Then at the fourth court let it be
son tenant iustiser, Donc a la quart court seit

awarded, that he shall take that tenement into his
agard, quil pregne cel tenement en sa

hande, in the name of a distresse, as if it were an oxe,
mein en noum de destress, ausi come boef

or a cow, and let him keepe it a yeere, and a day, in
ou vache, e le tiene un an, e un iour, en

his hand without manuring it: within which terme, if
sa mein sance meyn overir: dens quel terme, si

the tenaunt come, and pay his arrerages, and make
le tenant vent, e rend ses arrerages, e feit

reasonable amendes for the withholding, Then let him
renables amendes de la detenue, a donc eit,

have and enioy his tenement as his auncetors and he
e ioise son tenement sicom ses auncestors e ly

before held it. And if he do not come before the yeere,
avant le tyn dront. Et sil ne vent devant lan,

and the day past, then let the Lord go to the next
e le iour passe, donc auge le Seigneur al prochein

countie court with the witnesses of his owne court,
Counte suiant oue tesmoynage de sa court,

and pronounce there this processe, to have further
e face la pronuncier cel proces pur tesmoynage

witnesse. And by the award of his court (after that
auer: Et per agard de sa court, apres ceo

countie court holden) he shall enter, and manure in
Counte tenue entra, e meynouera en
owne
those lands and tenements, as in his demeanes. And
celes terres e tenemenz, sicome en son demeyne. Et

if the tenant come afterward, and will re-have his te-
si le tenant vent apres, e voille ces te-

nements, and holde them as he did before, let him
nemenz reauer e tener sicome il fist devaunt,

make agreement with the Lord, according as it is
face gree al Seigneur, sicome il est

aunciently saide:
auncienement dist,

Neȝ Þe ɣẏþe ɣelde. and neȝ Þe ɣẏþ ȝelde: and ƿiþ
ponð ƿoɲ þe ƿeɲe. eɲ Þe bicome Þealðeɲ.

No oath, but for fealtie. Also they claime, that no man ought to make an othe
Aussi il cleyment que nul homme deit serment sur

upon a booke, (neither by distresse, nor by the power
liure fere, per destresse, ne per poer

of the Lorde, nor his bailife) against his will, without
de Seigneur, ne de Baylif, encountre sa volunte

the writ of the King (unlesse it be for fealtie to be don
saunz bref le Roy (sinon pur feaute fere

to his Lord) but only before the Coroner, or such
a son Seigneur) meske per devaunt Coronner, ou

other minister of the King, as hath Royall power to
auter minister le Roy, qui Real poer eyont de

enquire of trespasse committed against the crowne of
enquerer de trespas fet encountre la Coronne Essoignes.

our Lord the King. And they claime also, that everie
nostre Seigneur le Roy. E cleyment auxi, que checun

Kentishe man may essoine an other, either in the
Kenteys put autre assonier en la court le

Kings court, or in the county, or in the hundreth, or
Roy, en Counte, en hundreth: e

in the court of his Lord, where essoine lieth, and that
en la court son Seigneur, la ou assoigne gist, aussi

as well in case of commune sute, as of plea. More-
bien de commune sute, come de play. Es-

No battail nor graund assise, in Gavelkynde landes.

over they claime by an especial deede of King Henry
tre ceo il cleyment per especial fet le Roy Henrie,

the 3. father of King E. which now is (whom God
pere le Roy Edward, que ore est que Dieu

save) that of the tenements which are holden in Ga-
Garde, que de tenementz que sont tenus en Ga-

velkinde, there shall no battail be ioined, nor graund
vylekende ne seit prise battaille, ne graund

Assise taken by xii. Knights, as it is used in other
Assise per xii. chivallers, sicome aillours est

places of the realme: this is to weet, where the tenant
prise en le reaume: ceo est a savoir, la ou tenant

and demaundant hold by Gavelkinde: But in place of
e le demaundant tenent per Gavylekende: mes en lu de

these graund assises, let Juries be taken by xii. men,
ces graundes assises seient prises Iurees per xii. homes

being tenants in Gavelkind: so that foure tenants of
tenantz en Gavylekend: Issi que quatre tenantz de

Gavelkinde, choose xii. tenants of Gavelkinde to be
Gavilekend elisent xii. tenantz. de Gavylekende,

Jurors. And the chartre of the King, of this es-
iurours. E la chartre le Roy de ceste es-

pecialtie, is in the custodie of Sir Iohn of Norwood,
peciaute est en la garde Sire Iohan de Norwode,

the day of S. Alphey, in Canterburie, the yeere of
le iour S. Elphegh en Canterbyre, le an le

King Edward the sonne of King Henrie, the xxi.
Roy Edward, le Fiz le Roy Henrie, xxi.

These be the usages of Gavelkind, and of Gavel-
Ces sont les usages de Gavylekend, e de Gavy-

kinde men in Kent, which were before the conquest,
lekendeys en Kent, que furent devaunt le conquest,

and at the Conquest, and ever since till now.
e en le Conquest, e totes houres ieskes en ca.

Sir Henrie Wiat, Knight, *procured his possessions to be chaunged from the nature of Gavelkynd Discent, by one Acte of the Parlement, holden* 15. *H.* 8.

The names of such persons, as procured their possessions to be altered from the nature of Gavelkinde, by Acte of Parlement, made 31. *H.* 8. *cap.* 3.

Thomas Lord Cromwell.	Sir Thomas Cheyne.
Thomas Lord Burghe.	Sir Christopher Hales.
George Lord Cobham.	S. Thomas Willoughby.
Andrew Lord Windsore.	S. Anthonie Seintleger.

S. Edward Wootton.
S. Edward Bowton.
S. Roger Cholmley.
S. Iohn Champneys.
Iohn Baker, Esquier.
Reignold Scot.
Iohn Guldeford.
Thomas Kempe.
Edward Thwaites.
William Roper.
Anthonie Sandes.
Edward Isaac.
Percivall Harte.
Edward Monyns.
William Whetnall.
Iohn Fogg.
Edmund Fetiplace.
Thomas Hardres.
William Waller.
Thomas Wilford.
Thomas Moyle.
Thomas Harlakenden.
Geffrey Lee.
Iames Hales.
Henrie Hussey,
Thomas Roydun.

The names of such as be likewise provided for 2. & 3. *E.* 6.

Sir Thomas Cheyney.
Sir Anthonie Seintleger.
S. Robert Sowthwell.
S. Iohn Baker.
S. Edward Wootton.
S. Roger Cholmley.
S. Thomas Moyle.
S. Iohn Gate
S. Edmund Walsingham.
S. Iohn Guldforde.
S. Humfrey Style.
S. Thomas Kempe.
S. Martyn Bowes.
S. Iames Hales.
S. Walter Hendley.
S. George Harpar.
S. Henry Isley.
S. George Blage.
William Roper.
Thomas Wylforde.
Thomas Harlakenden.
Thomas Colepeper, of Bedgebury.
Iohn Colepeper, of Ailesforde.
Thomas Colepeper, son of the said Iohn.
William Twisenden.
Thomas Darrell, of Scotney.

Robert Rudstone.
Thomas Robertes.
Stephen Darrell.
Richard Couarte.
Christopher Blower.
Thomas Hendley.
Thomas Harman.
Thomas Lovelace.
Reignald Peckam.
Herbert Fynche.
William Colepeper.
Iohn Mayne.
Walter Mayne.
Thomas Watton.
Iohn Tufton.
Thomas White.
Peter Hayman.
Thomas Argal.

The names of such, as be specified in the acte made for the like cause, 5. Elizabeth. *Cap.*

Sir Thomas Browne, of Westbecheworthe, in Surrey.
George Browne.

It were right woorthie the labour, to learne the particulars and certeintie, (if it may be) of all such possessions, as these men had, at the times of these severall Statutes, for that also will be serviceable in time to come.

A Table, comprising the principall Places, Men, and Matters, handeled in this Perambulation.

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